

THE NORTHERN HIJAZ  
IN THE WRITINGS OF THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS  
800 - 1150

by  
ABDULLAH AL-WOHAIBI  
Lecturer in History  
University of Riyadh

AL-RISALAH Ets.  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

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## *PREFACE*

Most of the following pages were written as part of a thesis submitted in 1969 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. I spent more than two years working on that thesis at the School of Oriental and African Studies. I added but a few remarks here and there. The rarity of additions to the original work is not due to any belief that the work is complete. On the contrary, it is my hope that this subject will be examined further, and that some of my students at the University of Riyadh will be interested in shouldering this job.

This work is divided into three parts. Part One summarises the description of individual localities in the Northern Hijaz as presented in the writings of the Arab geographers in the period 800-1150. Since it is not practicable to include all the information they proffer on all localities of this region, a representative selection of places is given, arranged alphabetically, each entry containing a synopsis of the data supplied by the Arab geographers of this period. This part of the work is essentially informative except when, in order to eliminate contradictions, it has been necessary to examine the evidence thoroughly and refer to authors of later periods. Under Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Nakhlah where there is great

confusion, a few paragraphs are added to elaborate the conclusions to be drawn from the investigation. The second part is devoted wholly to the pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz as described by the Arab geographers. The tables of the routes frequented by the Iraqis are based on the original mileages as recorded by the geographers. In this part, fewer authors outside the period have to be consulted; when they are, it is usually in connection with the pilgrimage rites and administration. The third and last part consists of a general survey of the information supplied by the Arab geographers of the period on the Northern Hijaz, and deals with sources, quotations, misquotations and borrowings as well as attempts at the authentication of works of disputed authorship. It also discusses the characteristics of these geographers, «geographical poetry», the rise and decline of towns and villages, and the dependencies of Medina and Mecca.

Discussion of the two cities of Mecca and Medina has been excluded from this work since each one of them needs more than one book to be devoted to its description by the Arab geographers of this period. Their importance in most of the works of the Arab geographers was not shared even by Baghdad, the then capital of the Islamic Empire.

The period 800-1150 was chosen because it is prolific in original Arabic works on geography. Al-Aṣmaʿī flourished at the court of al-Rashid at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries when he composed his influential «literary» geographical work *ʿIzārat al-ʿArab*. The years that followed witnessed the emergence of ʿArrām, the pioneer of «regional» geography, and his revolutionary work on Tihāmah and the Hijaz. In the mid 9th century Ibn Khurradadbeh

wrote the first «general» geography. The closing limit was adopted because it was in the mid 12th century that al-Idrīsī wrote his *Nuzhah*, and Naṣr compiled his *ḡibāl*.

The chronological list of Arab geographers provided by V. Minorsky in *Hudud al-‘Ālam*, is almost as accurate as it is comprehensive. It is certainly reliable as far as the general geographers are concerned, but required to be supplemented by the additions of mainly regional geographers, and by minor corrections of the dates in the light of information which was not at the disposal of this very eminent scholar. I have not included biographical data on the Arab geographers since De Goeje, Krachkovski, Minorsky, Dr Ṣāliḥ al-‘Alī, Shaikh Ḥamad al-Jāsir and Dr Ḥusain Naṣṣār have already proffered all that is required in this respect. An exception is made in the case of authors whose works have not yet been utilized such as Wakī‘ on whom a brief biographical reference is given in this work. It has been found necessary to stress that Ishāq b. al-Ḥusain, the author of *Ākām al-Murjān*, could not have lived, as generally assumed, before the 12th century.

Five terms are applied in this work to denote certain schools of geographers: literary geographers who, though aiming at the definition of localities in Arabia, were mainly concerned with literature, such as al-Aṣma‘ī, Lughdah and al-Hajari; regional geographers, who limited themselves to particular parts of Arabia such as ‘Arrām and al-Ḥafṣī; official geographers who, being senior members of the administration for whose benefit they wrote, had access to official archives; Fatimid geographers, namely Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Muqaddasī and al-Muhallabī, who advocated the Fatimid cause; and general geographers who describe all Islamic

territories or even the whole known world. This school includes the official and Fatimid geographers as well as al-Jāḥiẓ, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī. Al-Hamdānī's intention was to compile a general geography, but his means apparently fell short of the ambition to produce a work as exhaustive as his description of the Yemen, Najd and Tihāmah. With the exception of al-Mas'ūdi and al-Hajārī, the term «geographer» is applied only to authors of works primarily concerned with geography.

The method of transliteration is conventional except for a few names which have well-established English forms such as Islam, Arab, Mecca, Medina, Taif and Ibn Rosteh. The letters gh, kh, dh, th and sh are not underlined. Capital B. denotes Banū, whereas small b. denotes Ibn between two names.



## THE HIJAZ AS DEFINED BY THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

The Arab geographers differ in their definitions of the Hijaz. Some of them limit themselves to the linguistic explanation of the word *hijāz* الحجاز (the barrier); others demarcate the Hijaz from east to west; a third group tries to delineate the Hijaz from south to north; undertakings in which they by no means agree.

It is impossible to accept Qudāmah's concept that it was the Prophet who *hajaza* حَجَزَ (set up a barrier) between the Yemen and the province of Mecca by assuming Talḥat al-Malik as the borderline dividing the two provinces<sup>1</sup>, a statement implying that the Prophet was the first to call that locality the Hijaz. It is most likely that the Prophet named it as the point where the two administrations separate, since the name Hijaz stems no doubt from a much earlier date than Islam. Quṭrub proffers two explanations of the linguistic derivation of the word *hijāz* (the place surrounded by mountains <sup>2</sup>, or the cord). According to Yāqūt, al-Khalil maintains that the Hijaz was given this name because it «separates al-Ghaur, Syria and the Steppe.»<sup>3</sup> This quotation

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1. Qudāmah, *Kharāj*, p. 189.

2. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id*, p. 534.

3. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2. p. 205.

is given by al-Bakrī in a more explicit form. Here al-Khalil says that it is called Hijaz because it separates al-Ghaur from Syria, and Tihāmah from Najd,<sup>1</sup> a statement of which, by the way, only the second part is correct. To al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) the word *hijaz* «denotes the land of rivers and plants and signifies Paradise».<sup>2</sup> Ibn Duraid claims that it is called Hijaz because it separates Najd from al-Sarāh. This is incorrect since al-Sarāh is identical with the Hijaz north of the Yemen. Al-Aṣmaʿī is said to have maintained that *hijaz* means «the land encircling the mountains».<sup>3</sup> This cannot be accepted, as *hijaz* denotes the mountain and not the land surrounding it.

Ibn ʿAbbās is the first to define the Hijaz, according to a report transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī to the effect that the Hijaz is the mountain range called al-Sarāh which stretches from the borders of the Yemen to the Syrian steppe. The low land to its west is called Tihāmah, and the relatively high land to its east bears the name of Najd. Had this report ended here, it would be intelligible, but a reporter intervened to complicate a hitherto clear issue. He added that Najd was the desert stretching from al-Sarāh to the borders of Iraq and al-Samāwah, and that the Hijaz was equivalent to the mountain range stretching east of al-Sarāh as far as Faid and the two mountains of Ṭay. He went on to say that these mountains were called Najd, Jals or Hijaz, though the latter was the common name.<sup>4</sup> This erroneous expla-

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

3. Ibn Duraid, *al-ʿJamharah*, vol. 2, p. 55.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 48.

nation caused many Arab geographers to confuse the Hijaz with Najd. Without this uncalled-for addition, it would have been perfectly clear that Arabia was divided into four sections, the Yemen, the Hijaz or Mt. al-Sarāh, Tihāmah or al-Ghaur to the west of Mt. al-Sarāh, and Najd to the east of that mountain.

Al-Hamdānī, who records this report, discards another attempt at the explanation of the Hijaz attributed to al-Ḥarbi,<sup>1</sup> apparently because he realises that it conflicts with the previous demarcation of the Hijaz and Najd. He is right, as in this report Bīshah, Tabālah, Tarj, al-Marāghah and Ranyah were all described as dependencies of Najd, whereas all the land east of Mt. al-Sarāh from Tathlith and the land of Madhhij until Faid and the two mountains of Ṭay, were described as Hijazi lands. As this definition of the Hijaz includes these Najdī dependencies, al-Hamdānī, a native of Arabia, could not accept this mis-statement. It is also unlikely that either Ibn 'Abbas or Ibn al-Musayyib was responsible for these mistakes. Both al-Ḥarbi and Waki' attribute this report to Ibn Faḍālah,<sup>2</sup> whereas Ibn al-Anbārī traces it back to Ibn Ḥabīb.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, from Ibn 'Abbās that the delineation of the Arab land and its sub-regions seems to have originated, though his report is laden with many additions and misleading explanations. Only one author, namely Ibn Nāṣih, seems to have rejected the erroneous assumption that the Hijaz stretches as far to the east as Faid which he locates thirteen days' journey from

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 9.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 72-73.

3. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, vol. 1, pp. 416-17.

the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> His criticism, however, was ignored by other authors.

Ibn 'Abbās' definition of the Hijaz is far more authentic and reliable than any attempted by his successors. 'Arrām describes the Hijaz as stretching from al-Naqirah to Medina which, according to him, is half Hijazi and half Tihāmi.<sup>2</sup> This definition, though borrowed by Naṣr, is unacceptable even when taken as drawing a cross line through the Hijaz from east to west, since not all the lands west of Medina are situated in Tihāmah as he suggests. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadī describes the land between the vicinity of Taif and Syria as comprising the Hijaz.<sup>3</sup> This remark, too, is attributable to al-Aṣma'ī who, on another occasion, defines the Hijaz as «the land surrounded by the five lava fields of Shaurān, Laylā, Wāqim, al-Nār and B. Sulaim.<sup>4</sup> In both definitions, the Hijaz appears too small a region to be accepted. As to the other definition attributed to al-Aṣma'ī by al-Bakrī who states that Tihāmah forms the frontier of Najd at Dhāt 'Irq, and that of the Hijaz at the pass of al-'Arj<sup>5</sup>, it cannot be accepted since not only Dhāt 'Irq forms part of the Hijaz, but the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh west of it are also Hijazi localities. It appears from al-Samhūdī<sup>6</sup> that al-Bakrī's source for the borders of the Hijaz was al-Aṣma'ī. In this definition, the Hijaz is bordered by Baṭn Nakhl, the upper Rummah and the western parts of

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1. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id*, p. 534.

2. 'Arrām, *Jibāl*, p. 424.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

4. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1182 - 1183.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 14.

6. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1183.

the Laylā lava fields in the east; by Shaghb and Badā in the north; by Badr, al-Suqyā, Ruhāt and 'Ukāz in the west, adjacent to Tihāmah; and by Sāyah and Waddān in the south<sup>1</sup>. This definition invites a number of criticisms. Apart from the fact that the Hijaz is much wider than the area thus delineated, al-Aṣma'ī's demarcation of the borderline in the west and south is marred by logical and geographical errors. Ruhāt and 'Ukāz are regarded as western borders with Tihāmah, and Waddān is regarded as the southern border. Now, 'Ukāz is situated well outside the region described here as the Hijaz, lying as it does, not in Tihāmah, but near Taif. Ruhāt should form part of the southern borders, since it is distant from Badr as well as al-Suqyā. Waddān cannot be regarded as a border town of the Hijaz, since it is a port separated by Tihāmah from the Hijaz. The nearest al-Aṣma'ī approaches to accuracy in his definitions of the Hijaz is when he terms it «the land stretching from the borders of Ṣan'ā' at al-'Ablā' and Tabālah to the Syrian borders».<sup>2</sup> Though it is difficult to discover a connection between Ṣan'ā' on the one hand, and al-'Ablā' and Tabālah on the other, it can be said at least that al-Aṣma'ī looks for the Hijaz in the right place. Al-Aṣma'ī is followed here by Naṣr.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī himself is quoted by Yāqūt as having located the Hijaz between the two mountains of Ṭay, and the Iraqi route to Mecca.<sup>4</sup> This does not include a definition, since the distance between these two localities and the route is a mere thirty-six miles, which hardly constitutes a region.

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 10-11.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 205.

3. Naṣr, *op.cit.*, fol. 62.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 205.

The fact is that Yāqūt misquotes Ibn al-Kalbī who, according to al-Bakrī and in reliance on al-Aḥwal, says that the Hijaz is situated between the two mountains of Ṭay and the Iraqi route, (the eastern borders of Tihāmah) شعت *sha'af* (upper) Tihāmah, and the Yemen.<sup>1</sup> This coincides with the explanation found in the report of Ibn 'Abbās and is, at best, partly correct. Ibn al-Kalbī also proffers another definition of the Hijaz which, according to him, stretches between al-Yamāmah and al-'Arūd on the one hand, and Najd and the Yemen on the other.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious from this definition that Ibn al-Kalbī regards both Taif and Medina as situated in Najd. It is difficult to understand why this definition is recorded, since it is contrary to fact, and conflicts with other reports transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī himself. Al-Ḥarbī includes even Palestine in the Hijaz, but regards as the southern borders of the Hijaz the Basra pilgrim route (Rukbah) in the east and the pass of al-'Arj in the west.<sup>3</sup> He does so in defiance of the report he himself transmits from al-Zubair where Mt. al-Sarāh is equated with the Hijaz (except in the Yemenite part of al-Sarāh).

Mālik seems to follow Ibn 'Abbās when he divides Arabia into three (provincial) towns: Medina (the Hijaz), Mecca (Tihāmah) and al-Yamāmah (Najd) together with the Yemen<sup>4</sup>. Ibn 'Ayyāsh locates the Hijaz between al-Shuqrah (east of Medina) and the pass of al-'Arj<sup>5</sup>. This can be accepted only if taken as drawing a cross line through the Hijaz

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 11.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

from east to west. Abū 'Ubaidah locates the Hijaz between Juḥfah in the west and the two mountains of Ṭay in the east «because the Hijaz separates al-Ghaur from Najd».<sup>1</sup> With this definition of the Hijaz, there would hardly be any Ghaur or Najd left, because al-Juḥfah is only several miles from the sea, and the Ṭay mountains are in the heart of Najd. Thus only the second part of this definition can be correct. There is also the information found in al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifah* and attributed to three poets from Najd, Tihāmah and the Hijaz who try to define their respective localities. According to their definitions, the Hijaz begins in Mecca and stretches northwards along the coastal line until Yanbu', then turns eastwards at Dhul-Marwah near Wādi al-Qurā as far as Medina. Consequently, many Hijazi localities south of Medina along Mt. al-Sarāh as far as Kutnah are described either as Tihāmi or as Najdi localities<sup>2</sup>. This cannot be accepted, since it conflicts with the clear definition of the southern borders of the Hijaz by al-Hamdānī himself<sup>3</sup>. To describe Taif and Mt. al-Sarāh as Tihāmi territories is even contradictory to the very meaning of the name «Tihāmah» or «al-Ghaur», namely the low lands between the Red Sea and Mt. al-Sarāh. It is likely that the poems in question have been misquoted, possibly in order to disgrace their authors or even al-Hamdānī himself, a malicious act similar to that directed against another poet quoted by al-Hamdānī.<sup>4</sup> It is more likely than not that these poems were the work of one author. It has not been possible to ascribe this erroneous location to administrative or political

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4. *Al-Naqā'id*, vol. I, p. 798.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p.p. 214-219.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4. See *Ibid.*, p. 234.

factors for lack of information about the time at which they were composed.

Al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>2</sup> locate the Hijaz between al-Sirrain south of Jiddah, al-Yamāmah, the two mountains of Tay, al-Ḥijr and Madyan. Al Muqaddasi's location of the Hijaz is rather vague, since he situates it between the borders of the Yemen and Qurḥ (Wādī al-Qurā)<sup>3</sup>, but describes Madyan as Hijazi<sup>4</sup>. Al-Idrisi regards Dhāt 'Irq as part of Tihāmah,<sup>5</sup> an opinion untraceable in other sources. In his *Masālik*, al-Bakri defines al-Suwaidā' (north of Medina) as the frontier of the Hijaz<sup>6</sup>. It is likely that this strange remark has its origin in a misreading of al-Hamdānī's statement:<sup>7</sup> وأوال الحجازية أيمن من السويداء *wa Uwāl al-Ḥijāziyyah aimanu min al-Suwaidā'* (the Hijazi Uwāl is situated to the right of al-Suwaidā') where أوال Uwāl may have been altered into أول *awal* (first). Al-Zamakhshari does not define the Hijaz, though he implies that its northern border stops short of al-Ḥijr which he locates between Syria and the Hijaz.<sup>8</sup> It is not clear on which border of the Hijaz Say'ah<sup>9</sup> is situated, unless its name is a corrupted form of Sāyah which is regarded by al-Aṣma'ī as part of the western borders of the Hijaz. Al-Zamakhshari,

1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-Mamālik*, p. 14.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 19.

3. Al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 94.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

5. Al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq*, fol. 41.

6. Al-Bakri, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 130.

8. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, p. 47.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 83.



howsoever, relies on 'Ulay in describing Ḥaly as the Hijazi border with the Yemen<sup>1</sup>. As to the Hijazi borders with Najd, al-Zamakhshari seems to rely on the traditional opinion that «he who sees Mt. Ḥaḍan is already in Najd»<sup>2</sup>, which is unobjectionable. He, however, locates al-A'raḍ between the Hijaz, the Yemen and Mt. al-Sarāh<sup>3</sup>, an incorrect statement as the Hijaz is identical with Mt. al-Sarāh north of the Yemen.

'Umārah b. 'Aqīl,<sup>4</sup> followed by al-Sukkari<sup>5</sup>, maintains that Najd begins (and the Hijaz ends) where the waters of Mt. al-Sarāh turn east, and that Tihāmah ends (and the Hijaz begins) at the edge of the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh in the west. The latter is essentially true, since Tihāmah is the coastal plain between the Red Sea and Mt. al-Sarāh. The former is, however, incorrect because both the western and eastern slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh (the Hijaz) should be regarded as parts of the Hijaz. Otherwise, many Hijazi localities would be included in Najd. 'Arrām, when mapping Tihāmah and the Hijaz, locates the latter in the mountainous area between Medina and Turabah from north to south, and from al-Naqirah to Medina from east to west<sup>6</sup>. The first part of this statement is less erroneous than the second which has already been discussed. Lughdah records the opinion that the territory stretching from Medina to the hills of al-'Arj is Najdī, and the territory south of al-'Arj until Mecca

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

4. Lughdah, *Bilād al-'Arab*, pp. 14-15.

5. Naṣr, *Jībāl*, fol. 145.

6. 'Arrām, *Jībāl*, p. 424.

Tihāmī. It is likely that Najd here is a misplacement of the Hijaz. Lughdah also states that the frontiers of Najd begin where those of Tihāmāh end which is inaccurate. He is more correct when he places Najd immediately east of Wajrah, and Tihāmāh immediately west of Dhāt 'Irq.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Qutaibah's location of the Hijaz and Syria at «Taimā' and Mt. al-Sarāh of Najd» is not likely to be his actual utterance.<sup>2</sup> Naṣr identifies the Hijaz with al-Jauz which, being a Hudhaili chain of hills west of Mt. al-Sarāh, is too small a locality to be equated with the Hijaz<sup>3</sup>. Al-Hamdānī equates Ptolemy's Soene which he calls the island of سويني Suwaini, vocalized as Suwainā, with the Hijaz<sup>4</sup> which is difficult to understand. Qudāmāh correctly equates it with the region of Aswan<sup>5</sup>. Al-Hamdānī may have been misled by the ancient description of both sides of the Red Sea as inhabited by the Arabs. As Aswan is situated on the same latitude on which parts of the Northern Hijaz are located, al-Hamdānī may have used the name Soene for the Hijaz.

In conclusion, it will be expedient to discard most of the demarcations of the Hijaz proffered by the Arab authors in order to clear up the confusion which reigns in this field. As to the eastern and western borders of the Hijaz, the meaning of the word *hijāz* itself proves that they end at the edge of the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh. As to the southern borders, it is advisable to consult and accept al-Hamdānī's definition since he is, in this respect, a most reliable authority on de-

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1. Lughdah, *op.cit.*, pp. 336-338.

2. Ibn Qutaibah, *al-Shu'arā'*, p. 358. See al-Khizānah, vol. 2, p. 171.

3. Naṣr, *op.cit.*, fol. 66.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 15; Ptolemaeus, *Almajest*, p. 41.

5. Qudāmāh, *Al-Kharāj* (MS.) fol. 54.

marking the political frontiers of the Yemen with the Hijaz in the 10th century. According to him, the borderline between the Yemen and the Hijaz stretches from al-Hujairah in the east to Tathlith, the valley of Jurash, Kutnah and then Umm Jaḥdam in Tihāmah in the west<sup>1</sup>. These are the Yemenite borders with the Hijaz (and Tihāmah) which are quite unequivocally drawn. On another occasion, al-Hamdānī describes Kutnah as the first of the Hijazi localities in the vicinity of the Yemen<sup>2</sup>. This is a later development on the demarcation attempted by Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>3</sup> and Qudāmah, who both maintain that Ṭalḥat al-Malik (fifty-three miles south of Kutnah) is the southernmost border of lands under Meccan administration, which is an ancient demarcation. Al-Idrīsī follows them in this respect<sup>4</sup>. This delineation by al-Hamdānī may clarify the confusing statement made by al-Aṣma‘ī when locating the Hijaz between the borders of Ṣan‘ā’ at al-‘Ablā’ and Tabālah. Ṣan‘ā’ here may mean the Yemen because Ṣan‘ā’ is too far from al-‘Ablā’ and Tabālah to be situated on one line with them.<sup>5</sup>

There is little doubt that, about the 7th century, the northern borders of the Hijaz used to end immediately north of Medina, near Dhū Khushub and al-‘Iṣ. For some Medinese, the area beginning in Wādī al-Qurā and to the north of it was called al-Shām (Syria). Some authors do not even regard it as an Arab land and attribute to this the fact that ‘Umar had desisted from

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1. Al-Hamdānī. *Ṣifah*, p. 51.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

3. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *Masālik*, pp. 135 - 137.

4. Al-Idrīsī, *op.cit.*, fol. 38.

5. *Supra*, p. 21.

deporting the local Jews.<sup>1</sup> This assumption may also be a legacy of the ancient «Provincia Arabia», or Qurā 'Arabīyyah, which most likely used to include these localities. The Prophet assigns a *mīqāt* for the pilgrim on the way from Syria, which means the part of Arabia north of Medina. Ibn al-Kalbī calls this part «Bilād al-ʿArab» and locates it north of Tihāmah,<sup>2</sup> of which Yanbuʿ and Mt. Raḍwā are regarded as the northernmost frontiers. It is to this ancient concept that Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' may have referred when they describe al-Yamāmah, Ṭāif, Mecca and Medina as Hijazi, Yemenite, Tihāmi and «the home-town of the Prophet» respectively<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, the region north of Medina was described as part of the Hijaz by later authors when Suragh was cited as the northern border of the Hijaz. Al-Hamdānī refers to Taimā' as the capital of the ancient kingdom of the Hijaz<sup>4</sup>.

It is the administrative factors that account, no doubt, for the confusing demarcation of the Hijazi frontiers by later authors. The fact that the governor of the Hijaz was responsible for the Iraqi pilgrim route south of Faid influenced Ibn al-Kalbī to describe the localities south of the two mountains of Ṭay as Hijazi. This statement was accepted by many later geographers such as al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bakrī, and Naṣr. It was perhaps the reason why Tihāmah was later incorporated partly in the Yemen and partly in the Hijaz, from which it was administered. Later, when both Mecca and Medina had their own governors with the

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1. *Infra*, p. 255.

2. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 73.

3. *Rasā'il*, vol. 1, p. 123.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklil*, 1, pp. 73-74.

southern and northern parts of the Hijaz and Tihāmah controlled by the governors of Mecca and Medina respectively, some authors included the northern part of Tihāmah with the Hijaz, and the southern part of Mt. al-Sarāh (the Hijaz) with Tihāmah. Since Tihāmah is also surnamed al-Ghaur, some authors were led to believe that it formed an entity separate from both the Hijaz and Tihāmah, and located it between Yanbu' and al-Juhfah; this may have been dictated by administrative factors<sup>1</sup>. It may also account for the fact that some authors allot parts of the Hijaz to corresponding provincial capitals as «the Hijaz of Medina», «the Hijaz of Wādī al-Qurā» and «the Hijaz of Taimā'»<sup>2</sup>, obviously because these parts happened to be administratively linked with these centres. For this reason, the Hijazi localities from al-Ḥaurā' northwards were regarded, in the 11th century, as part of Egypt<sup>3</sup>. Ibn Ḥazm, however, regards Ailah as part of the Hijaz<sup>4</sup>.

Remarks by some authors on «the first Hijaz» seem to suggest that there was a «second» or even a «third» Hijaz. This misconception seems to have originated in a misunderstanding of the phrase ... وحد الحجاز الأول *wa ḥaddu al-Ḥijāz al-awwal* (the first border of the Hijaz) which occurs in Ibn Faḍālah's<sup>5</sup> definition of the Hijaz. Yāqūt quotes Mālik to the effect that Suragh is a village in the valley of Tabūk and that it is «the farthest in the first Hijaz», Al-bāji, the

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1. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 821; Lughdah, *op.cit.*, p. 79; and al-Muzarrid, *Diwan*, p. 25.
  2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 914; Al-Hamdānī, *Iklil*, vol. 1, p. 73.
  3. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 538; Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 53.
  4. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 396.
  5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

commentator on al-Muwaṭṭa', attributes the first part of this statement to Ibn Ḥabīb, and records the opinion that Suragh is the Syrian locality nearest to the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> Had Mālik mentioned the first Hijaz, al-Bāji would have mentioned it too. Yāqūt's reference may have originated in a misinterpretation, possibly by 'Iyād, of Ibn Faḍālah's report. The author of *Ākām al-Murjān* greatly aggravates this error when he locates the first Hijaz between al-Qairawān and Ailah, localities which are described by al-Bakrī as comprising أسفل الأرض *asfal al-Ard* = lower territories (of Egypt). Since al-Idrīsī describes Ailah as being part of أسفل أرض الحجاز *asfal ard al-Hijāz*, the author of *Ākām al-Murjān* may have regarded even al-Qairawān as part of *asfal* = lower or *awwal* = first Hijaz.<sup>2</sup> It may also be a misreading of عمل *amal* = administrative area as أول *awwal* = first, which is not unusual. الحجاز الأسود *al-Hijāz al-aswad* = the black Hijaz = the Sarāh of Shanū'ah, compared by al-Bakrī with the Hijaz of Medina<sup>3</sup>, seems to stem from al-Hamdānī's mention of the black mountain of Shanū'ah<sup>4</sup>. 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl describes parts of al-Bakrī's Hijaz of Medina as being a *black hijāz* = black mountain<sup>5</sup> which al-Samhūdī changes to حجارة سود *hijārah sūd* = black stones<sup>6</sup>.

Unlike the eastern and western geographical borders of the Hijaz which end, as has already been seen, at the edge

1. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 77; and al-Bāji, *Muntaqā*, vol. 3, p. 198.

2. *Ākām al-Murjān*, p. 407; and al-Idrīsī, *op.cit.*, fol. 89.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 13.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 70.

5. Lughdah, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

6. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1183.

of the slopes of Mt. al-Sarāh, the southern and northern geographical borders are not easy to ascertain on the basis of the works of the Arab geographers.

Throughout this work, the term «Northern Hijaz» applies to the whole region north of Mecca as far as Suragh and Ailah, including the region between the Red Sea and Dhāt ‘Irq (al-Darībah), Khaibar, Wādi al-Qurā, Taimā’ and Tabūk. The occasional liberal interpretation of the eastern borders of the Hijaz by some authors had to be disregarded, since it includes most of Najd such as the two mountains of Ṭay, and al-Yamāmah. The rather narrow interpretation by some other authors which would entail the exclusion of the eastern half of Mt. al-Sarāh from the Hijaz was also disregarded. But Tihāmah had to be included in the Hijaz because the part west of Mt. al-Sarāh was often called the Hijazi Tihāmah as against the Yemenite Tihāmah.





**PART ONE**

**A REPRESENTATIVE SELECTION OF LOCALITIES  
AS DESCRIBED BY THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS**



## AL-ABWĀ'

Placing al-Abwā' on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadbeh states that it is rich in wells. He gives the distance between al-Abwā' and al-Suqyā as twenty-nine milles and the distance between al-Juhfah and al-Abwā' as twenty-seven miles<sup>1</sup>. Thus he places al-Abwā' south of al-Suqyā and north of al-Juhfah. Qudāmah follows him<sup>2</sup>; so does Ibn Rosteh who adds that al-Abwā' is a huge-sized village not far from the sea which can be reached from there by a journey lasting one day and one night<sup>3</sup>. Al-Ya'qūbī accepts their statements but only in so far as the location is concerned. He adds that it belongs to the Aslam<sup>4</sup>. Al-Mas'ūdī calculates the distance between Waddān and al-Abwā' as eight miles.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Rosteh calculates the distance between al-Suqyā and al-Abwā' as nineteen miles, but follows Ibn Khurradadbeh with respect to the distance between al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī mentions al-Abwā' in connection with the route between Medina and Mecca. He states that it is equi-

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

2. Qudāmah, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 235.

distant from both al-Juhfah to the south and al-Suqyā to the north, from which it is separated by a day's journey.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri calculates the distance between al-Abwā' and Waddān to the east as six miles, adding that al-Abwā' is on the pilgrim route and that «it» - which may refer to either al-Abwā' or Waddān - was the residence of the Ja'fari chief during his stay there.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal is more explicit about this, stating that al-Abwā' is the residence of the chief in question.<sup>3</sup> He gives the same location as al-Iṣṭakhri whose statement is attributed by Yāqūt to Abū Zaid<sup>4</sup>.

'Arrām remarks that the water of the valley of Ārah flows first into al-Abwā', then into Waddān and then into al-Ṭuraifah, a small village on the sea coast<sup>5</sup>. This seems very accurate as al-Abwā' is higher than Waddān to the west which lies between al-Abwā' and the sea, contrary to al-Iṣṭakhri's statement. 'Arrām also says that al-Ḥashā, the mountain of al-Abwā', is to the right of Ārah on the right hand side of the route from Medina to Mecca. This mountain is situated by the valley of Bu'q which is flanked by the valley of Shass to the left and al-Ḥashā to the right. Al-Abwā' is half a mile from there<sup>6</sup>. The whole statement is repeated by al-Bakrī without reference to his source.<sup>7</sup>

Al-Zubairi says that Arthad is the valley whose water flows

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1. Al-Maqaddasī, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 910.

5. 'Arrām, *op.cit.*, p. 405.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 449.

into al-Abwā'.<sup>1</sup> This statement is attributed, in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*, to Ibn Ḥabīb who adds that the distance from al-Abwā' to Medina is four miles<sup>2</sup>, which cannot be accepted unless «miles» reads «days». Al-Bakrī also quotes Ibn Ḥabīb to the effect that al-Shabā, near al-Abwā', is Juhaini territory, which was true before his time<sup>3</sup>. In a third passage al-Bakrī borrows 'Arram's statement about the link between Waddān, al-Ṭuraifah and al-Abwā' without reference to a source.<sup>4</sup> (The Egyptian edition of al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam* prefers al-Ṭuraiqah which contradicts al-Bakrī's spelling of it in another entry when he states clearly that it is al-Ṭuraifah.)<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī describes al-Ṭuraifah exactly as 'Arrām does though he quotes al-Sakūnī once only.<sup>6</sup>

As to the derivation of the name al-Abwā', there are different theories. Kuthayyir is quoted as a source for two of them, both related by al-Bakrī. Kuthayyir in one place ascribes the name to the prevalence of epidemics there أوباء, which al-Bakrī immediately refutes as irrelevant<sup>7</sup>. In another place, Kuthayyir attributes it to the alleged circumstance that the rain water lingers تَبَوَّأ there, which is improbable.<sup>8</sup> Yāqūt reports Kuthayyir as providing a third derivation, namely, that people tend to settle there بَوَّأ<sup>9</sup>.

1. Al-Zubairī, *Nasab*, p. 408.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 136.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 777.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 891.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1257.

9. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 100.

But Yāqūt also refers to the attempts to link it with constant rain which he traces back to the philologist Marthad.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī mentions al-Abwā' when mapping the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, and follows al-Hamdānī with respect to the distances to and from al-Abwā', without referring to a source. He stresses, however, that travellers occasionally choose to avoid al-Abwā' and take the route leading through Waddān, preferring the diversion through al-Abwā' for a stretch of approximately eight miles.<sup>2</sup> His source seems to be Waki' or al-Asadī.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Bakrī, al-Abwā' is a town with a *minbar*, subject to the administration of al-Fur'.<sup>4</sup> As to the place called Muṭ'in by al-Bakrī<sup>5</sup> and Muz'in by Yāqūt,<sup>6</sup> both authors quote the poem by Kuthayyir in support of their respective variants of the name. They both locate it between al-Suqyā and al-Abwā', a location which Yāqūt attributes to Ibn al-Sikkīt.

Al-Hamdānī places al-Abwā' south of al-Suqyā and north of al-Juḥfah at the latitude 22°. 30'. He assesses the distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā' at nineteen miles and that from al-Abwā' to al-Juḥfah at twenty-three miles.<sup>7</sup> He quotes a Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, to the effect that al-Abwā' is situated between Mt. Quds and the valley of Waddān<sup>8</sup>. Al-Hajari states that al-Ḥashā is a locality between Marr, Shaūkān

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 100.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 954.

3. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1017, and Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 51.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1021.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1240.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 568.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 185.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

and Khalṣ Ārah.<sup>1</sup> Naṣr places it between Mecca and Medina.<sup>2</sup> He does the same with regard to al-Abwā'<sup>3</sup>, and describes Arthad as the valley of al-Abwā'.<sup>4</sup> 'Iyāḍ describes al-Abwā' as a dependency of Medina subject to the administration of al-Fur'.<sup>5</sup> Al-Idrisī places al-Abwā' (al-Abwā'), which he describes as a halt with wells, in the fifth part of the second climate, adding that it is at a distance of twenty-seven miles from both al-Juḥfah and al-Suqyā'.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Maqdisī states that al-Abwā' is a halt between Mecca and Medina<sup>7</sup> and calculates the distance from al-Abwā' to Waddān as six miles<sup>8</sup>. Waki', followed by Al-Bakrī, describes the valley of al-Abwā'<sup>9</sup> as the richest in the tamarisk trees among all the valleys. According to Yāqūt, al-Sukkārī describes al-Abwā' as a barren mountain, devoid of any sort of vegetation except for *khazam* and *bashām*, adding that it belongs to the tribes of Khuzā'ah and Ḍamrah.<sup>10</sup> This description is identical with that of 'Arrām with respect to al-Ḥashā. However, in another entry, Yāqūt records part of this statement to describe al-Ḥashā itself<sup>11</sup>. As to

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1. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 2, fol. 150.

2. Naṣr, *op.cit.*, fol. 100.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 11.

5. 'Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 49.

6. Al-Idrisī, *op.cit.*, fol. 37.

7. Al-Maqdisī, *op.cit.*, vol. 4, p. 133.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 182.

9. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 102; and Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 50.

10. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 100. Al-Sukkārī here may be a misreading of al-Sakūnī.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 271.

al-Shabā Yāqūt states that it is a valley in al-Uthail (in al-Ṣafrā'), and a dependency of Medina with a spring called Khaif al-Shabā which belongs to the B. Ja'far.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, mentions two mosques of the Prophet near al-Abwā', one is five miles distant and the other is eight miles distant.<sup>2</sup> His source is obscure, but al-Asadī mentions these two mosques south of al-Abwā' as well as a third in al-Abwā' itself and a fourth at two miles to its north. Al-Asadī maintains that the valley between Mt. Quds and Mt. Bāqil (Thāfil) is the valley of al-Abwā'. He adds that there are wells and cisterns, one of which lies near the (government) palace, in al-Abwā'.<sup>3</sup> Waki' mentions a quadrilateral cistern near the small (government) palace. According to him, the distances from al-Abwā' are twenty-three miles to al-Juhfah; sixteen miles to al-Suqyā; two miles to the hills of Yumn; eight miles to either Waddān or the pass of Hirshā; seven miles to the half-way sign on the route from Medina to Mecca; and, finally, eleven miles to the spring of Ja'far b. Sulaimān at (the valley of) Rābigh.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Abwā' is well-known in that area as it is the place where the Prophet's mother was buried, though Shaikh Rushdī Muḥis identifies al-Abwā' with al-Khuraibah.<sup>5</sup> This had been generally the case until recently when the ancient name al-Abwā' was revived.

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 246.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 75.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1017.

4. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 50-51.

5. See al-Azraqī, *Akhhār*, vol. 2, p. 220.



## AL-AGHRĀ'

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions al-Aghrā' on the pilgrim route from Ailah to Medina. He locates it south of Madyan and north of an unnamed way-station north of al-Kilābah.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows him to the letter,<sup>2</sup> but al-Muqaddasī, while assuming the same geographical location, misreads the name al-Aghrā' as al-A'rā', and al-Kilābah as al-Kilāyah.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Rosteh indicates that al-Aghrā' lies on the inland route; al-Muqaddasī says that it lies on the old and abandoned one, while Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions only one route, the conventional inland one.

Al-Ya'qūbī also lists it as a halt on the inland route, but differs from the other two in naming the anonymous stop to the south which he calls Qālis.<sup>4</sup> He passes over al-Kilābah in silence. Thus it is difficult to be sure whether he means by Qālis the unnamed halt, or a replacement of al-Kilābah. Wakī' locates al-Aghrā', which he calls al-Agharr, south of Qālis and north of al-Kilābah,<sup>5</sup> which cannot be accepted as al-Aghrā' should be located south of Madyan and north

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op.cit.*, p. 183.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op.cit.*, pp. 110, 111.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

5. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

of Qālis. The latter separates al-Aghrā' in the north from al-Kilābah in the south. Musil correctly favours the form of al-Agharr.<sup>1</sup>

Neither al-Bakrī nor Yāqūt have any mention of it which may imply that it lost its importance to another place and fell into oblivion to reappear later under another name. Nevertheless, al-Idrīsī does mention it on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Madyan and north of an unnamed halt north of Ankilāyah (al-Kilābah). However, al-Aghrā' re-appears in al-Idrīsī's work, as al-A'dā'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Musil, *The Northern Hegāz*, p. 322.

2. Al-Idrīsī, *op.cit.*, fol. 89.

## AILAH

Ailah was the most important way station on the pilgrim route between Egypt and the Holy Cities of Arabia. The Palestinian pilgrim caravans used to pass through Ailah at times. Ibn Khurradadbeh locates it north of Ḥaql and south of an anonymous halt south of al-Ḥafr.<sup>1</sup> He counts it among the Egyptian provinces<sup>2</sup>, and describes it as the extreme eastern limit of Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbi situates Ailah on the Palestinian pilgrim route to Mecca and mentions that the Syrian caravans may also choose this way if they wish to join the Palestinians, the Maghribis and the Egyptians.<sup>4</sup> The last halt mentioned by al-Ya'qūbi on the Egyptian pilgrim route west of Ailah is al-Qulzum, at a distance of six days. Sharaf al-Ba'ī is the first stop to the south. According to al-Ya'qūbi, Ailah is a flourishing town on the «salt sea» and a meeting place of pilgrims from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib. It is rich in trade but its population is heterogeneous. Some of its inhabitants have claimed to be clients of 'Uthmān, and there is a robe in existence which is said to have been bestowed by the Prophet upon Ru'bah b. Yuḥannah when they met

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

4. Al-Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 330.

at Tabūk.<sup>1</sup>

All Ibn Rosteh has to say about Ailah is that it lies on the coast of the sea of Fāris. He locates it north of Sharaf al-Naml (Baʿl) and south of an unnamed halt south of al-Ḥafr.<sup>2</sup> The latter has become al-Ḥiṣn in Qudāmah's *Kharāj*, just as Sharaf al-Naml has become Sharaf al-Baʿl. Otherwise, Qudāmah's location is in concordance with that of his predecessors<sup>3</sup>. He also says that the town called Ailah is situated on the shore of a gulf of the sea of Fāris.<sup>4</sup> Qudāmah regards Ailah as one of the provinces of lower Egypt.<sup>5</sup> In one passage, Ibn al-Faqīh states that Ailah forms the extreme eastern limit of Egypt<sup>6</sup>. In another passage, however, he says that it is the south western limit of Syria.<sup>7</sup> According to him, Ailah is the eastern end of the Wilderness.<sup>8</sup> Al-Hamdānī quotes Ptolemy to the effect that the gulf of Ailah is| on the western border of Arabia.<sup>9</sup> He also mentions the coast of Ailah which is not to be confused with a Hijazi mountain of the same name<sup>10</sup>, among the coastal strips of Arabia.<sup>11</sup> As regards the tribes inhabiting that area, al-Hamdānī says that the territories of the Baliy extend between Tabūk,

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op.cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

6. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, p. 57.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

9. Al-Hamadānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Mt. Sharāh, Ma‘ān and Ailah.<sup>1</sup> Waki‘, who locates Ailah south of *حل* (*manzil* = an anonymous halt?), states that the Medina-bound Egyptian route bifurcates there, with the inland route leading to Sharaf al-Ba‘l, and the coastal route leading to ‘Ainūnah.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mas‘ūdi records what was already common knowledge that Ailah is situated on the coast of the sea of Fāris, but he calls it the Ethiopian Sea<sup>3</sup>. He also records the episode of Ru‘bah b. Yuḥannah, whom he calls Yuḥannah b. Ru‘bah, upon whom the Prophet bestowed a robe of honour.<sup>4</sup> Al-Muhallabī records the way stations between al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Ailah. He states that the halt to its north, at a day’s distance from it, is called the pass of Ailah *عقبة أيلة*. Describing Ailah, al-Muhallabī remarks that it is a flourishing town on the «salt sea», a meeting place of the pilgrims from Syria and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Some of its inhabitants claim to have been clients of ‘Uthmān, and it is said that it possesses the robe of honour which the Prophet bestowed upon Yuḥannah b. Ru‘bah when they met at Tabūk. He estimates that the land tax levied in Ailah amounts to approximately 3000 *dinārs*. Al-Muhallabī locates Ailah in the third climate at thirty degrees of latitude.<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt states that Ḥaql is sixteen miles south of Ailah.<sup>6</sup> This statement is reminiscent of the system followed by al-Muhallabī which suggests that he might have been Yāqūt’s source.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

2. Waki‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Al-Mas‘ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 51.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 1, p. 423.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 299.

Al-Iṣṭakhri states that the Arabian part of the sea of Fāris ends at Ailah,<sup>1</sup> a statement borrowed by Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>2</sup> The latter's remark that the Qulzum coast ends at Ailah in the east where the Arab territories begin,<sup>3</sup> is clearly borrowed from al-Iṣṭakhri.<sup>4</sup> So is<sup>5</sup> the information that the sea of Fāris extends from 'Abbādan to Ailah, bordering about three quarters of Arabia, the rest of which is bordered by Syria from Ailah to Bālis; and that the wilderness adjacent to Ailah does not form part of Arabia.<sup>6</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri's description of Ailah as a prosperous small town with a few farms whose Jews still treasure a deed from the Prophet, and where the Jews who defied (God) in not observing the sabbath are said to have been transformed into monkeys and pigs,<sup>7</sup> is also found in Ibn Ḥauqal's work.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal proffers no new information when he states that the distance between al-Jār and Ailah equals twenty days' journey,<sup>9</sup> because al-Iṣṭakhri has already said so.<sup>10</sup> Nor is there anything new about Ibn Ḥauqal's assessment of the distance between Egypt and Medina as twenty day's journey and the statement that the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims meet at Ailah at the southern end of the Syrian steppe,<sup>11</sup> as this

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

5. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

6. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

10. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

11. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

assumption is recorded by al-Iṣṭakhri,<sup>1</sup> who adds that there is no need to map the Egyptian pilgrim route, as the Egyptians mix with the Syrians at Ailah whence the two routes become one and the Syrian steppe begins.<sup>2</sup> Neither of these accounts is repeated by Ibn Ḥauqal. It should be noticed, however that neither author makes any attempt to enumerate the stations on the Syrian route. Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>3</sup> borrows al-Iṣṭakhri's report about Tārān which he describes as the most dangerous place between the Qulzum and Ailah.<sup>4</sup> Even al-Iṣṭakhri's description of the different sorts of fish found near Ailah<sup>5</sup> is, as only to be expected, taken over by Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>6</sup>

The author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* describes Ailah as a Syrian borough on the coast of the Qulzum sea where the steppes of Egypt and Syria divide.<sup>7</sup> Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih claims that Ailah has a *minbar*.<sup>8</sup> Al-Muqaddasī substitutes Wailah for Ailah and says,

«Wailah stands on an arm of the China Sea. It is a considerable and flourishing city possessing many palm trees, and fish in plenty. It is the port of Palestine and the emporium of al-Hijaz. The common people call it Ailah, but the true Ailah lies near by it and is now

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

4. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

7. *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 149.

8. *Al-ʿIqd al-Farid*, vol. 3, p. 296.

in ruins. This is the place of which God - may He be exalted - has said: 'Enquire of them concerning the village that was situate on the sea'.»

According to al-Muqaddasī:

«Syria, al-Hijaz and Egypt dispute between them as to which province belongs Wailah - even as is the case with regard to 'Abbādān-but it is more properly included in Syria, since its weights and measures and the customs of its people are those of that province. Further, as before stated, it is the port of Palestine, from which the merchants sail to sea.»<sup>1</sup>

He also regards it as part of the Arabian steppe.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī, who divides Syria into four zones, counts Ailah, together with Tabūk and several others, among the towns of a belt he calls the valley of al-Ghaur. Ma'ān is enumerated among the towns of another belt.<sup>3</sup> He states that there are several routes between Ailah and Medina and adds that Ailah is situated on the pilgrim route from the Islamic west. (The editor reads *كلها* for *فلها* and is followed by the translator, p. 168. It is obviously attributable to a scribe's error.) Al-Muqaddasī locates Ailah north of Sharaf al-Ba'ī, which he calls, in another place, Sharaf Dhū al-Naml.<sup>4</sup> He is alone in omitting the unnamed halt north Ailah, as he locates the latter immediately to the south of al-Hafr.<sup>5</sup>

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op.cit.*, pp. 178-179, English translation, pp. 292-294.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 215.



Al-Maqdisi lists Ailah among the principal towns of the Hijaz<sup>1</sup>. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr quotes al-Wāqidi when saying that al-Zuhri was buried in Shaghb and Badā in the Baliyyih (Ailah) region.<sup>2</sup> Al-Birūnī situates it on the Qulzum Sea or on a gulf of that sea, calling it the Ailah of Transformation المسح (it is printed المسح). According to al-Birūnī, its longitude is 56° and its latitude is 23.50. He lists it among the towns of the third climate in Arabia.<sup>3</sup> In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī describes Ailah as a large village with markets and mosques, and many Jews among its population. He situates it on the conventional inland route between Egypt and Medina north of Ḥaql and south of Baṭn Najd (sic). Even Ailah is corrupted in the MS. to 'Anmulah'. He also reports the story of the Ailah delegation to the Prophet, but differs from the others in stating that it was the Ailah chief who presented the Prophet with the robe and with a white mule in Tabūk.<sup>4</sup> He quotes Sa'īd b. Ghālib al-Jaihānī when saying that the frontiers of Arabia extend from the Ailah coast eastward to Kufa.<sup>5</sup> He also states that the Red Sea is called the Sea of Ailah between al-Ḥaurā' and the Qulzum and lists Ailah among the towns situated on that Sea.<sup>6</sup>

In his *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī, relying on the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb, identifies Uthāl with the valley of Ailah.<sup>7</sup> He quotes

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1. Al-Maqdisī, *op.cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

2. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Tamhīd*, p. 116.

3. Al-Birūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 557.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 22.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 32.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 105.

Abū 'Ubaidah to the effect that Ailah is half way between Egypt and Mecca; and al-Aḥwal on the derivation of its name.<sup>1</sup> He also believes that there is another name for Ailah, Dār al-Qunfudh, and quotes a poem by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Anbasah in support of this assumption.<sup>2</sup> It seems however, that the word in question is only a poetic metaphor with a satirical undertone which, moreover refers to another Ailah situated inland near Medina. In another passage, al-Bakrī counts Ailah among the lower provinces of Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt attributes to Ibn al-Kalbī a statement on the origin of the name of Ailah<sup>4</sup> which is ascribed by al-Bakrī to al-Aḥwal.<sup>5</sup> He also quotes Abū 'Ubaidah to the effect that Ailah is a Syrian town,<sup>6</sup> and relates Ibn al-Sikkī's statement that the Ḥismā mountains and land, which are inhabited by the Judhām, lie between Ailah and the land of the 'Urdrah.<sup>7</sup> To Abū Zaid, Yāqūt attributes the two above-quoted statements found in the works of al-Iṣṭikhri and Ibn Ḥauqal, one concerning Ailah and its population<sup>8</sup> and the other concerning Tārān.<sup>9</sup>

Al-Sam'ānī says that Ailah is a town on the Qulzum coast adjacent to the territories of Egypt. He adds that al-Zuhri

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 594.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1143.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 422.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 216.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 422.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 267.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 422.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 811.

died in a place in the region of Ailah called Badā and Shaghb «two valleys on one day's journey from Ailah».<sup>1</sup> Al-Balādhurī says that the Prophet accepted a 300 *dinārs* tribute annually from Ailah when Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah met him at Tabūk.<sup>2</sup> 'Iyād describes Ailah as a known «Syrian» town half way between al-Fuṣṭāṭ (Cairo) and Mecca, attributing the statement to Abū 'Ubaidah.<sup>3</sup> Naṣr also states that Ailah is a Syrian town, but draws attention to the claim that it is the end of the Hijazi frontiers and the beginning of the Syrian.<sup>4</sup> The author of *Ākām al-Murjān* places Ailah in the first Hijaz الحجاز الأول, and adds that the Jews of Ailah treasure a deed from the Prophet penned by 'Alī.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Idrīsī locates Ailah on the pilgrim route between Egypt and Medina, north of Ḥaql and south of an anonymous halt which, in its turn, lies to the south of al Ḥafr. Describing Ailah, al-Idrīsī says that it is a small town and a centre of Arab (Beduin) trade.<sup>6</sup> He adds that a part of the sea of China passes near Madyan and Ailah to the Qulzum.<sup>7</sup> He enumerates Ailah among the famous localities in the fifth part of the third climate.<sup>8</sup>

The Arab geographers' accounts of the routes between Ailah and Medina and Mecca are discussed elsewhere.

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1. Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, p. 55.

2. Al-Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 71.

3. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 50.

4. Naṣr, *op.cit.*, fol. 6.

5. *Ākām al-Murjān*, p. 35. For the «first Hijaz» see *supra*, p. 30.

6. Al-Idrīsī, *op.cit.*, fol. 89.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 5.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

## AL-‘ARJ

Ibn Khurradadbeh does not mention al-‘Arj among the recorded halts on the conventional route between Mecca and Medina, but refers to it when mapping the route to Medina followed by the Prophet when he emigrated from Mecca. He locates al-‘Arj between al-Qāḥah and the hill of al-A‘yār.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbi mentions it on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, placing it between al-Ruwaithah and Suqyā B. Ghifār towards Mecca, and adds that it belongs to the Aslam.<sup>2</sup> All Ibn Rosteh has to say about al-‘Arj is that it lies between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā in the direction of Mecca.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Faqīh says that Mt. al-‘Arj which lies between Mecca and Medina, stretches to Syria and is adjacent to Mt. Lebanon at Ḥims, and continues under the name al-Lukām as far as Antioch and Muṣayyīṣah, is one of the marvels of Medina.<sup>4</sup> This statement has subsequently been borrowed by al-Idrīsī without referring to either Ibn al-Faqīh or al-Aṣma‘ī who seems to be the former’s source.<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh also quotes al-Aṣma‘ī as saying that the border of Tihāmah (edited Yamāmah) converges with that of the Hijaz at the

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op.cit.*, p. 130.

2. Al-Ya‘qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 313.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

4. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

5. Al-Idrīsī, *op.cit.*, fol. 88.

hills of al-‘Arj.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī does not mention the source of this statement when recording it.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hamdānī enumerates al-‘Arj (edited al-Mazj) together with al-Majnabiyyāt which should read al-Khubaitāt owing to the proximity of al-Khabt, among Juhainī territories.<sup>3</sup> He places al-‘Arj at twenty-four miles from both al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā, giving its degree of latitude as 23°.<sup>4</sup> He states, on the authority of Ibn al-Musayyib, that al-Abyaḍ, the mountain of al-‘Arj, emerges from the mountain range al-Sarāh.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī, when borrowing this statement does not mention his source,<sup>6</sup> while Yāqūt, in one passage, traces it back to Ibn al-Kalbī who attributes it to Ibn al-Musayyib,<sup>7</sup> and, in another passage, merely to al-Hamdānī himself.<sup>8</sup>

‘Arrām states that Wariqān, which is the first mountain after Medina, on the left hand side in the direction of Mecca, ends at the «evening meal» halt between al-Ruwaithah and al-‘Arj, while Mt. Quds starts at the «evening meal» halt between al-‘Arj and al-Suqyā with the Rakūbah pass separating the two mountains. ‘Arrām says that al-‘Arj lies in the lower Nahb, and that the valley of al-‘Arj which has

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1. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 322.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 171.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 8.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 2, p. 206.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 66.

certain kinds of trees and grass, is called *Masiḥah*.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī borrows the whole statement without acknowledging his source but with a number of erroneous alterations such as placing al-‘Arj in the upper Nahb, instead of the lower Nahb, and locating some villages near Wariqān with al-‘Arj to their left, and with al-Sayālah, al-Rauḥā’ and al-Ruwaithah to the right of Wariqān.<sup>2</sup> ‘Arrām states clearly that Mt. Wariqān lies on the left side of the route in the direction of Mecca, with the three above-mentioned villages to the right of Mt. Quds on the right of that route with al-‘Arj on the route.<sup>3</sup> Ḥamad al-Jāsir is no doubt correct when reading غـير in ‘Arrām’s MS as عـين despite the editor’s insistence on the contrary.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is clear that all four villages are situated on the right hand side of Wariqān with one of them on its far right on the other side of the route. Al-Bakrī seems to have been misled by his own error when he described Wariqān as the first mountain encountered by travellers from Mecca to Medina<sup>5</sup> which is contrary to fact and to ‘Arrām’s statement.

Though al-Bakrī, in one entry, follows ‘Arrām in calling the valley of al-‘Arj *Masiḥah*<sup>6</sup> (edited *Masyaḥah*), he, in another, chooses the name al-Munbajis.<sup>7</sup> He also says that Mt. Quds is the mountain of al-‘Arj,<sup>8</sup> though, in another

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1. ‘Arrām, *op.cit.*, pp. 401-4.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, pp. 1377, 1050-52.

3. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

4. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 403f.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1377.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

7. *Ibid.*, P. 930.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

passage, he follows al-Hamdānī - as has been seen - in conferring this distinction upon al-Abyaḍ.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, not contradictory, as Quds is a name for two mountains in that locality; one is called al-Abyaḍ - the white - and the other al-Aswad - the grey. As regards al-ʿArj itself, al-Bakrī enumerates it among the twelve villages with *minbars* which are under the control of al-Furʿ.<sup>2</sup> He describes al-ʿArj as a principal village with a mosque of the Prophet,<sup>3</sup> counts the lower parts of al-ʿArj among the Juhainī lands, in one passage,<sup>4</sup> and, in another, among that of the Aslam.<sup>5</sup> As to the distances to and from al-ʿArj, al-Bakrī says that it is two miles from al-Uthāyah,<sup>6</sup> seventeen from al-Suqyā,<sup>7</sup> three from the pass of al-ʿArj,<sup>8</sup> fourteen from al-Ruwaitah, three from the mosque of the Prophet at al-ʿArj and, according to al-Sakūnī, five miles from the hill that contains two or three graves.<sup>9</sup>

On the derivation of the name al-ʿArj, al-Bakrī mentions two theories attributing both to the poet Kuthayyir who ascribes the name to its winding paths منعرج, in one place,<sup>10</sup> and to the curves eroded in its soil by the rain ١١. تعرج السيول بها.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1021.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 686

9. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 1257.

Yāqūt, while ascribing to Kuthayyir that it is called so because it is situated on a diversion from the route, attributes to Ibn al-Kalbī a fourth deriving from the campaigns of the Tubba' who noticed lame عرج animals there. Yāqūt fares no better than al-Bakrī on the subject of al-ʿArj. He describes it as a principal village of one of the valleys of Taif, a statement taken over by Abū al-Fidā'. Though he places it in the land of the Hudhail, Yāqūt describes it as the border of Tihāmah, seventy-eight miles from Medina.<sup>1</sup> These statements cannot all be made about one locality as the land of the Hudhail is too far from Medina to be calculated as such. There are two places called ʿArj, one of which is near Taif and the other is Mt. ʿArj and its village between Mecca and Medina. After relating al-Aṣmaʿī's warning to the necessity to distinguish between al-ʿArj, the valley of Taif, and al-ʿArj, the pass between Mecca and Medina, Yāqūt follows this definition, describing what he thinks a third ʿArj which, lying on the pilgrim route, is no other than al-ʿArj in question<sup>2</sup> and to which he obviously refers when quoting al-Aṣmaʿī's statement about Rakūbah being a hill near al-ʿArj,<sup>3</sup> and which al-Aṣmaʿī regards as lying on the border between Tihāmah and the Hijaz.<sup>4</sup>

According to al-Muqaddasī, al-ʿArj is equidistant from both Suqyā B. Ghifār and al-Rauḥā' on the conventional route at one day's journey.<sup>5</sup> Al-Muqaddasī remarks that there is in the proximity of al-ʿArj, «a hill through which

1. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 637.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 637.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 811.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 902.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 106.



it is said Gabriel hewed for the Prophet, peace and blessing be upon him, at the time of his emigration a pathway to al-Madina». <sup>1</sup> Al-Asadī is quoted as saying that there is a mosque of the Prophet, three miles east of al-‘Arj, called the mosque of al-Munbajis, which is the name of the valley of al-‘Arj, and two cisterns built on a spring called al-Munbajis eight miles from al-‘Arj. He also says that al-Suqyā is situated seventeen miles from al-‘Arj in the direction of Mecca, that al-Ruwaithah is fourteen miles from al-‘Arj which is three miles from the pass of al-‘Arj and two miles from al-Uthāyah. <sup>2</sup> Waki‘ states that al-‘Arj, which belongs to the Muzainah, possesses many wells and is situated near three graves. The distance from al-‘Arj are fourteen miles to al-Ruwaithah; eleven miles to al-Ṭalūb; seventeen miles to al-Suqyā; and three miles to the local mosque of the Prophet. <sup>3</sup> Al-Azhari states that al-‘Arj is a halt between Mecca and Medina. <sup>4</sup> This statement is borrowed by al-Zamakhshari. <sup>5</sup> The scribe of al-Bakri’s *Masālik* changes al-‘Arj to al-Qadaḥ, in one place, <sup>6</sup> and to al-‘Arfaj, <sup>7</sup> in another. According to al-Bakri, there is a mosque of the Prophet at a distance of three miles from al-‘Arj. Al-Uthāyah has become, in his *Masālik*, al-Inābah. <sup>8</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 103. The English translation pp. 156-157.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, pp. 1013-14.

3. Waki‘, *Manāzil*, fols. 48-49.

4. Al-Azhari, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 356.

5. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, p. 108.

6. Al-Bakri, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 23.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 75.

### AL-‘AUNID (AL-‘UWAINID)

Al-Ya‘qūbī seems to be the first Arab geographer in whose surviving work the name ‘Aunīd occurs. He mentions it while mapping the coastal route from Ailah to Mecca, and locates it south of ‘Ainūnah. According to him, it is separated from Ḍubā in the south by five halts.<sup>1</sup> This indicates that unless al-Ya‘qūbī’s account is marred by scribal mistakes, it is not based on first-hand experience, but on extremely inaccurate sources. The distance between al-Nabk and Ḍubā is too short to require four days’ journey as he assumes it to be. Nor does the distance from ‘Ainūnah to Ḍubā require seven days, as it can be covered in no more than two days. The distance from al-Ḥaurā’ to al-Juḥfah on the other hand must have necessitated the interposition of not only one halt, as he supposes, but at least eight. As to the distance between al-Ḥaurā’ and al-Jār, and between al-Jār and al-Juḥfah, they cannot be covered without intervening halts.

Wakī‘ locates al-‘Aunīd north of al-Wajh and south of al-Murrah or al-Maddah which he places south of Ḍubā.<sup>2</sup> Thus what is located by al-Ya‘qūbī six days’ journey north of Ḍubā, is situated by Wakī‘ two days’ journey south of it. Though neither author is accurate, the margin of error in Wakī‘ is narrower. Qudāmah locates al-‘Aunīd south of

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1. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

Ḍubā and north of al-Wajh which is almost correct, though al-‘Aunīd is nearer Ḍubā than al-Wajh.<sup>1</sup> Al-Muqaddasī mentions not only one locality named ‘Aunīd but two, the second being a watering place in the open country of Taimā’ two days’ journey from Amman.<sup>2</sup> As to the ‘Aunīd in question, al-Muqaddasī differs from his predecessors in locating it on both the inland and the coastal route from Ailah to Medina and Mecca. On the inland route, he situates it, on one occasion, at one day’s journey from Badā Ya‘qūb, but makes no mention of it in a later reference to that route. On the coastal route, he follows Qudāmah in locating it south of Ḍubā and north of al-Wajh which he misreads as al-Ruḥbah. He repeats this location on another occasion. Al-‘Aunīd does not lie on the inland route.<sup>3</sup>

Both Waki‘ and Qudāmah remain silent on the subject of al-‘Aunīd, while al-Ya‘qūbī refers to it as a populated area with palm groves and gold mines. Al-Muqaddasī describes al-‘Aunīd as a Hijazi town and a dependency of Medina in one passage, and of Qurḥ in another. He states that it is the port of Qurḥ ( = Wādī al-Qurā) with an adequate anchorage, and refers to the abundance of honey there.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Bakrī does not mention al-‘Aunīd in his *Mu‘jam* and, but for the sake of *zabarjad* (chrysolite), might have totally disregarded it in his *Masālik*, where he mentions it in discussing the special products of Arabia. He states there that chrysolite is found on Zabarjadah which he describes as

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1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 250, 253.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 110, 112.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 84.

an island lying between al-‘Aunīd and al-Ḥaurā’.<sup>1</sup> An island bearing this name is still known in the Red Sea, but lies at too great a distance from both al-Ḥaurā’ and al-‘Aunīd for al-Bakrī’s location to be accurate. Apparently, al-Bakrī does not agree with al-Muqaddasī in regarding al-‘Aunīd as the port of Wādī al-Qurā, since he assigns this function to al-Ḥaurā’.<sup>2</sup> This variation may be due to a deterioration in security at Wādī al-Qurā between the time of al-Muqaddasī and the time of al-Bakrī’s source, or to a different interpretation of Wādī al-Qurā.

Al-Idrīsī describes al-‘Aunīd as a port with fresh water. Opposite to it lies the isle of al-Nu‘mān ten miles from the coast. Al-Idrīsī, however, follows al-Ya‘qūbī in placing al-‘Aunīd north of Ḍubā, which cannot be accurate.

In al-Idrīsī’s work, the locality in question can be read either «al-‘Aunīd» or «al-‘Uwainid».<sup>3</sup> None of the above-quoted geographers mentions its name in vocalized form. Apart from them, no geographer of this period even mentions it in a surviving work. Yāqūt, however, vocalizes it unequivocally as al-‘Aunīd.<sup>4</sup> This is not likely to be its correct form, as the modern name of the locality is al-‘Uwainidiyyah. There are several localities in Arabia called al-‘Uwainid, three of which are situated in the Northern Hijaz. Musil rightly corrects this form to al-‘Uwainid.<sup>5</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī’s form may have been an Arabic transliteration of the Onne

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 66.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 22.

3. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 88.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 3, p. 748.

5. Musil, *Northern Hegāz*, p. 323.

of Ptolemy and Marcianus of Heraclia who described it as an emporium of Arabia Felix.<sup>1</sup> Though Ritter,<sup>2</sup> Burton<sup>3</sup> and Sprenger<sup>4</sup> identify Onne with 'Ainūnah, Musil identifies it with al-Khuraibah, the port of 'Ainūnah, and Glaser<sup>5</sup> and Ruppel<sup>6</sup> move it even farther north, it is more likely that Onne is al-Ya'qūbi's 'Aunīd. In fact, the description of Onne is more applicable to al-'Aunīd than to 'Ainūnah since the former is a port and lies nearer Wādī al-Qurā than 'Ainūnah. It is true that the latitude of Onne does not coincide with that of al-'Aunīd, but Ptolemy's locations are, understandably, not always accurate. What should be identified with 'Ainūnah is Ptolemy's settlement of Aine which Musil, in spite of the longitude, correctly locates opposite Tārān.<sup>7</sup> This location of Aine is more convincing than Forster's who equates it with the 'Uyainah of Wādī Ḥanifah,<sup>8</sup> Sprenger's who identifies it with Jubbah,<sup>9</sup> or even Hogarth's who assumes it to be Faïd or Ḥā'il.<sup>10</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

2. Jawād 'Alī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 390.

3. Burton, *Gold Mines*, p. 145.

4. Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*, pp. 21, 22, 26.

5. Jawād 'Alī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 390.

6. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

7. Musil, *Northern Hegaz*, pp. 124, 306.

8. Forster, *Historical Geography*, vol. 1, p. lxix, vol. 2, p. 313.

9. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

10. Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, p. 156.

## BADĀ

As will be seen in Shaghb, Badā is often mentioned with Shaghb though they are separated by one day's journey. Badā, for most Arab geographers, is a halt on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Ibn Khurradadhbeh,<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Qudāmah<sup>3</sup> locate it south of Shaghb and north of al-Sarḥatain, al-Ya'qūbī differs from them only by having al-Suqyā instead of al-Sarḥatain.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Hamdānī says that the Baliy possesses land in Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī, often calling it Badā Ya'qūb, describes it as one of the smaller urban dependancies of Mecca.<sup>6</sup> In another passage, he enumerates it among the towns of the Wādī al-Qurā region, which he calls Qurḥ.<sup>7</sup> In a third citation, he relates that it lies on the route from Ailah to Medina and describes it as inhabited and prosperous.<sup>8</sup> According to him, it is three day's journey from al-Suqyā in the southern

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 170.

6. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

direction, and one day's journey from 'Aunīd to the north.<sup>1</sup> On two occasions, he calls it Badā and locates it south of Shaghb,<sup>2</sup> not of al-'Aunīd. The last mentioned location is no doubt more accurate.

Al-Iṣṭakhri seems to assume that Badā is north of Shaghb;<sup>3</sup> so does Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>4</sup> Both place it on the inland route from Egypt and Palestine to Madīna.

In al-Bakrī's *Masālik*, the scribe calls it Nadā Ya'qūb,<sup>5</sup> which, in al-Jazīrī's quotation from al-Bakrī, has become Madā Ya'qūb.<sup>6</sup> Al-Sam'ānī calls it Yadā Shaghb and describes it as a valley in the Ailah region.<sup>7</sup> In his *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī relies on al-Asadī when stating that Shaghb and Badā are the northern limits of the Hijaz.<sup>8</sup> He does not quote al-Hamdānī when saying that the Baliy possess land in Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina.<sup>9</sup>

Ibn Khallikān adopts the spelling Badā, which is right, but errs in stating that it is a mere valley, though he adds that some call it a village. He says also that it is situated at the northern corner of the Hijaz, a statement which can be traced to al-Asadī.<sup>10</sup> Besides, Badā is mentioned in the

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 112.

3. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

6. Al-Jazīrī, *Durar*, p. 441.

7. Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, p. 335.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

10. Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, p. 318.

chronicles as one of the villages of Egypt at the turn of the third century (A.H.) at the time of the revolt of Abū al-Nadā, a client of the Baily.<sup>1</sup> Waki' errs when he locates Badā north of Shaghb and south of al-Kilābah, since Badā is the halt south of Shaghb and north of al-Sarḥatain.<sup>2</sup> It is still known in this region, though al-Qalqashandī states that both Badā and Shaghb are unknown to him.<sup>3</sup> Its name, however, appears on the official map as al-Baiḍā'.

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1. Al-Kindī, *Akḥbār al-Wulāh*, p. 412.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 3, p. 393.



### AL-BAIḌĀ'

The halting place, al-Baiḏā', is mentioned by five Arab geographers as situated on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Ibn Khurradadbeh locates it between al-Sarḥatain in the north, and Wādī al-Qurā in the south.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> follows him in this respect, and so does Qudāmah.<sup>3</sup> Al-Muquddasī agrees with them in one place,<sup>4</sup> but has, in another, «Qurḥ» instead of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>5</sup> However this is of little importance as al-Muquddasī does not distinguish between Qurḥ and Wādī al-Qurā. Al-Idrisī refers to al-Baiḏā' when recording the way-stations of the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Sha'b (Shaghb) and north of Wādī al-Qurā.

Neither al-Ya'qūbī nor al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, has any mention of al-Baiḏā' when marking out the halts on that route. Nor does Waki' in his *Manāzil*.

Though it is tempting to identify the Baiḏā' in question with a place called Bi'r al-Baiḏā' between Shaghb and Wādī al-Qurā, the latter is, in fact, a misreading of Badā.

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Al-Muquddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

## DUBĀ

Al-Ya'qūbī is the first Arab geographer to mention Zubah as a halting place on the coastal route to Mecca from Ailah. He locates it between al-Mūgīthah in the north and al-Wajh in the south.<sup>1</sup> Qudāmah follows him in mentioning it on the coastal route, but comes nearer to accuracy when he places it between al-Nabk to the north and al-'Aunīd to the south.<sup>2</sup> Neither scholar provides any information whatever about this place. The first to do so is al-Muqaddasī who says that Dabbah is a town of Qurḥ,<sup>3</sup> situated between al-Nabk and 'Aunīd. He refers to it in two passages in his book in connection with the pilgrim route between Ailah and Mecca.<sup>4</sup>

Neither of the two names occurs in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*, even when he quotes al-Khalīl on the fact that al-Zaby valley lies in Tihāmah.<sup>5</sup> However, in his *Masālik*, he is the only one to situate Dūbā on the conventional inland route from Ailah to Medina. There al-Bakrī locates it north of Nadā (Badā) Ya'qūb and south of al-Nabk, and relates that Dūbā is a harbour with several wells and plenty of *daum* trees, and that there are a number of lofty mountains with

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1. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

3. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 112.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 902.

caves, rock-hewn houses and graves.<sup>1</sup> Wakī' locates Ḍubā, which he reads as Ṭaibah in his *Manāzil*, south of al-Nabk and north of a place called al-Marrah or al-Murrah which he places north of al-ʿAunīd.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that he has no personal experience of that area. Nor does he seem to have had access to the official archives.

Al-Idrīsī says that the port of Ḍubā lies between al-ʿAunīd to the north and al-ʿUṭūf to the south. His source is somewhat obscure for, though al-Yaʿqūbī locates ʿAunīd to the north of Ḍubā, al-Idrīsī is unique in mentioning a place called al-ʿUṭūf as lying to the south of Ḍubā.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Idrīsī, however, has no mention of Ḍubā in his list of the halting places on the coastal route between Ailah and Mecca.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, he has two versions of the coastal route with a very loose connection, as will be discussed elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

Yāqūt, apparently following the hint by al-Khalīl, says that Ḍabbah is a village in Tihāmāh opposite to, and seventy miles distant from, Badā Yaʿqūb.<sup>6</sup> Umayyah b. al-Ṣalt locates Ḍubā, corrupted to Ṭanah, in the eastern part of Egypt between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Nabk.<sup>7</sup> So does al-Maqrīzī, though he gives the locality in question the name of Ṭanasah.<sup>8</sup>

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

2. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 90, see *infra*, p. 287.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

5. *Infra*, p. 433.

6. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 464.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 548.

8. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 16.

Al-Ḥimyarī states that Ḍubā is a dependency of Medina, and, apart from that, a safe harbour with a good supply of water and plenty of *daum* trees. He also says that there are a number of lofty mountains between Ḍubā and Madyan, relying no doubt for this statement on the authority of al-Bakrī's *Masālik* and on al-Idrīsī.<sup>1</sup> For the statement, however, that there is an ancient foot-print of usual proportions which has never been eroded by age or water,<sup>2</sup> no source has been traced.

Ḍubā is still a well-known town on the Red Sea.

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1. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rauḍ*, fol. 281.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 230, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 3, p. 393.

## AL-FUR'

No information about al-Fur' is found in the work of Ibn Khurradadbeh,<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> or Qudāmah,<sup>3</sup> except that it is one of the dependencies of Medina. A lost account by Ibn al-Faqīh describes it as the most important dependency of Medina, even implying that it had dependencies of its own, as well as a resident governor and a mosque attributed to the Prophet.<sup>4</sup> There is no mention of al-Fur', however, in any of the available copies of his book. Al-Hamdāni does not elaborate beyond recording a poem defining the Hijazi localities, in which al-Fur' occurs.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī assumes the distance between Medina and al-Fur' to be eight postal stages.<sup>6</sup> The author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* states that it is a small borough.<sup>7</sup> Al-Muqaddasī refers to it in one passage as a town of Mecca<sup>8</sup> and, in another, as a dependency of Mecca.<sup>9</sup> He adds that it is a small fortress

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

4. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 878.

5. Al-Hamdāni, *Ṣifāh*, p. 219.

6. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 249.

7. *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 148.

8. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

with a *minbar*.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri says that the Ja‘āfir have extensive properties in al-Fur‘,<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal says the same except that he substitutes «the chief of the Ja‘āfir» for «the Ja‘āfir».<sup>3</sup> Both al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>5</sup> locate al-Fur‘ south of Medina at four days’ distance and mention that it has a *minbar*. ‘Arrām describes al-Fur‘ as a picturesque village with a spring descending from Mt. Ārah. According to him, it is inhabited by Quraish, Anṣār and the Muzainah.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Bakrī quotes ‘Arrām when stating that al-Fur‘ is a dependency of Medina.<sup>7</sup> This definition is not to be found in the available copy of ‘Arrām’s work. Al-Bakrī also appears to regard al-Fur‘ as the north-eastern border of Tihāmah.<sup>8</sup> In another entry, he indicates, on the authority of al-Zubair, that there are four routes leading from Medina to al-Fur‘.<sup>9</sup> Al-Bakrī provides abundant information about al-Fur‘ describing it a large Hijazi dependency of Medina with many villages, twelve of which have *minbars*. He lists these twelve villages which he describes as dependencies of al-Fur‘, from which taxes are collected by the central administration of the district. They are in their original order of occurrence in al-Bakrī’s text: al-Maḍīq of al-Fur‘, al-Suwāriqiyyah, Sāyah, Ruhāt, ‘Amq al-Zar‘, al-Juhfah, al-‘Arj, al-Suqyā, Al-Abwā’, ‘Usfān and Istārah (Sitārah).<sup>10</sup> He mentions

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
  2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
  3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
  4. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
  5. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
  6. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 404.
  7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 10.
  8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
  9. *Ibid.*, p. 1323.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

also Umm al-‘Iyāl<sup>1</sup> and the routes from Medina to al-Fur‘.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī quotes Hishām al-Zubairī to the effect that al-Fur‘ was the first village to export dates to Mecca at the time of Ishmael. To judge by the accounts he gives of al-Fur‘’s early land owners, al-Bakrī seems to rely heavily on reports by al-Zubair. He also states that al-Fur‘ is one of the most important dependencies of Medina.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq states that Baḥrān (Buḥrān), the gold mine, lies in the Fur‘ region.<sup>4</sup> Al-Maqḍisī enumerates al-Fur‘ among the Hijazi smaller towns.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī describes Buḥrān as a valley,<sup>6</sup> in one book, but as a gold mine in another.<sup>7</sup>

According to al-Samhūdī, al-Suhailī states that there are two accepted forms of spelling of the name al-Fur‘ in existence, al-Fur‘ and al-Fara‘. Al-Suhailī, however, says that the form of the name is al-Furu‘.<sup>8</sup> The spelling adopted here is the prevalent one and is also less apt to be confused with that of other places called al-Far‘. Wakī‘ refers to al-Fur‘ as lying on an alternative route from Medina to the Ma‘dan of B. Sulaim.<sup>9</sup> He also regards it as a dependency of Medina.<sup>10</sup> Al-Hajarī records a debate in which al-Fur‘ figures as the habitat of al-Zunūj.<sup>11</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1323.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

4. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah*, vol. 2, p. 46.

5. Al-Maqḍisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

6. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 4, p. 143.

7. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 249.

8. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣah*, p. 291, see al-Suhailī, *Sirah*, vol. 2, p. 120.

9. Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 17.

10. *Ibid.*, fol. 40.

11. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 2, fol. 149.

## ḤAQL

Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions this name when listing the way-stations on the pilgrim route from Ailah to Medina. He locates it to the immediate south of Ailah and to the immediate north of Madyan.<sup>1</sup>

No geographer, for about two centuries, followed in his footsteps. Not even Ibn Rosteh, who is often a consistent borrower of Ibn Khurradadhbeh's work, mentions this name. It seems unlikely that the route as set out by Ibn Khurradadhbeh is fully detailed, as Ḥaql is too close to Ailah and too far from Madyan to be regarded as equidistant from both.

Al-Bakrī mentions Ḥaql in *al-Muʿjam* but only in the introductory part in which he records the territories of each particular tribe. He says there that Juhainah had come north and driven Judhām and Baliy from their habitations in the region of Ḥaql on the coast of Taimā'.<sup>2</sup> He seems here to be quoting Ibn al-Kalbī to whom Yāqūt attributes a statement of this kind.<sup>3</sup> Al-Hamdānī also says that Ḥaql is the port of Taimā'.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 38.

3. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, p. 299.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.



Al-Bakrī also mentions Ḥaql in *al-Masālik* as a way-station on the conventional route between Medina and Ailah. He locates it south of Ailah and north of Wādī al-Ghurāb.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Samʿānī says of Ḥaql that it is a valley near Ailah on the sea.<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt gives the distance between Ḥaql and Ailah as sixteen miles. However, he confuses the Ḥaql in question with another place of the same name. He quotes a poem by Kuthayyir in which the poet reminisces about his love dwelling in a place called Ḥaql. Yāqūt believes it is a question of Ḥaql near Ailah, and adds that ʿAzzah, Kuthayyir's love, used to have two gardens there.<sup>3</sup> As, however, the poet speaks not of gardens, but of grazing camps, it is unlikely that Kuthayyir's Ḥaql is identical with Ḥaql near Ailah. There are many places in Arabia called Ḥaql and it is more probable that ʿAzzah's dwelling was in the Ḥaql south of Yanbuʿ. The Ḥaql in question, however, is still known and is situated to the immediate south of Ailah. Al-Idrīsī no doubt means this Ḥaql when speaking about it as being on the pilgrim route between Egypt and the Holy Cities in Arabia. In one passage he calls it Ḥaql;<sup>4</sup> in another its name becomes al-Ḥaql.<sup>5</sup> On both occasions, al-Idrīsī locates it to the immediate south of Ailah and to the immediate north of Madyan.

The other geographers, who disregard Ḥaql when mapping the route, mention Sharaf al-Baʿl, apparently as a replacement. The two localities are, however, not identical.

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

2. Al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

3. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, p. 299.

4. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

## AL-ḤAURĀ'

Mapping the Egyptian coastal pilgrim route, both Wakī'<sup>1</sup> and al-Ya'qūbī<sup>2</sup> locate al-Ḥaurā' south of Munkhūs. Unlike al-Ya'qūbī who places it north of al-Jār, Wakī' mentions four halts which separate the two localities, the one south of al-Ḥaurā' being al-Quṣaibah which cannot be accepted, since the latter is situated further north. Al-Ya'qūbī, on the other hand, is mistaken in naming no halts between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār which were separated by at least three halts. This may be the result of a scribal omission which must be of early date, because al-Idrisī follows him in this respect. Al-Muqaddasī<sup>3</sup> states that al-Ḥaurā' is a town of Mecca, a dependency of Medina and a town of the valley of Khaibar. The anchorage itself is full of rocks at its entrance where ships are taken unawares. The town has a fortress and a flourishing suburb with a market on the side which faces the sea. According to him, al-Ḥaurā', together with al-Marwah and Khaibar, are the only towns in the valley of Khaibar. An interesting reference is made to a fire which once «fell between al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā' which blazed like burning coals.»

Al-Muqaddasī's description of al-Ḥaurā' as the port of Khaibar is more correct than al-Bakrī's assumption in his

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldan*, p. 341.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 69, 83, 103, 110, 112.

*Masālik*, that al-Ḥaurā' is the port of Wādī al-Qurā<sup>1</sup> the port of which is, according to al-Muqaddasī, al-ʿAunīd. This variation may be due to a deterioration in security at Wādī al-Qurā between the time of al-Muqaddasī and the time of al-Bakrī's source, or to a different interpretation of Wādī al-Qurā. Al-Bakrī also refers to the existence of chrysolite on an island between al-ʿAunīd and al-Ḥaurā' called Zabarjadah<sup>2</sup> (chrysolite). This island is, in fact, situated far from these two localities. In his *Muʿjam*, al-Bakrī shows little consistency with these statements made in *al-Masālik*. In *al-Muʿjam*, al-Bakrī relies on Ibn al-Sikkīt in locating al-Ḥaurā' opposite to Yanbu' whose port he claims it is, which cannot be accepted<sup>3</sup>. Al-Bakrī places al-Tajbār (al-Nukhbār) between Munkhūs and lower al-Ḥaurā'<sup>4</sup>, whereas al-Wāqidi locates al-Nukhbār in the region of al-Ḥaurā' behind Dhul-Marwah on the coast<sup>5</sup>. Al-Bakrī names no source when locating the mine of al-Ḥurāḍah between al-Ḥaurā'; Shaghb and Badā; and Yanbu' in the region of al-Ḥaurā'. Yāqūt attributes this statement to Ibn al-Sikkīt who makes it clear that it is al-Ḥurāḍah which lies near al-Ḥaurā'<sup>6</sup>. In fact, al-Ḥurāḍah is nearer Yanbu' than al-Ḥaurā'.

Ibn al-Kalbī reports the story of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḥudaib of Juhainah who asked his tribe to erect a temple in a place within their territories called al-Ḥaurā', so that it could rival Mecca in attracting the Arabs, and became indignant

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fols. 22.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 66.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 474, 1310.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 656.

5. Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, p. 101.

6. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1038; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, p. 230.

when his suggestion was turned down.<sup>1</sup> This Ḥaurā' is the one in question which is still inhabited by Juhainah. This story may be taken as evidence of the importance of al-Ḥaurā' in pre-Islamic history. Al-Hamdānī also describes al-Ḥaurā' as part of Juhainah land.<sup>2</sup> Al-Idrisī, on the other hand, states that it is a flourishing village populated by the descendents of the Prophet, which is partly correct. According to him, it has a quarry for hewing stones for storage jars which are taken to all places near and far. Al-Idrisī fails to distinguish between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Rauḥā' and thus makes some errors which are pointed out below.<sup>3</sup>

Though al-Ḥaurā' is part of the Hijaz, the description of it as a dependency of Medina during the period under consideration cannot be credited. In fact, al-Ḥaurā' had been the southern frontier of the Egyptian-controlled territories in the Hijaz for the whole period. This is clear from Ibn Ḥauqal's statement that the governor of Aswan in 332 A.H. (846) administered al-Ḥaurā' and 'Ainūnah.<sup>4</sup> Both al-Quḍā'ī and Umayyah b. al-Ṣalt regard al-Ḥaurā' as the frontier between Egypt and the Meccan administration.<sup>5</sup> It remained so for many centuries. Though it is unknown now, al-Ḥaurā' was famous until the early years of this century. It lies to the very north of Umm Lujj, the Red Sea town. In the Cambridge MS. of his journey, Kibrīt locates it west of Samnah<sup>6</sup> which is situated north east of Umm Lujj.

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1. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnam*, p. 39.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.

3. Al-Idrisī, *op cit*, fol. 88, see below, p. 392.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 548, vol. 2, p. 356.

6. Kibrīt, *Riḥlah*, fol. 8.

## AL-ḤIJR

Ibn Khurradadbeh counts al-Ḥijr, which he locates south of al-Junainah and north of Wādī al-Qurā, among the way-stations of the Syrian pilgrim route to Medina.<sup>1</sup> He is followed in this respect by Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Qudāmah.<sup>3</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri regards al-Ḥijr as the northern limit of the Hijaz and the land to its north as part of the Syrian steppe.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal borrows the entire passage without referring to a source.<sup>5</sup> In describing al-Ḥijr itself, al-Iṣṭakhri states that it is a small, sparsely populated and strongly fortified village.<sup>6</sup> He assesses the distance between it and Wādī al-Qurā at one day's journey through the mountains. He mentions particularly the dwelling of Thamūd, the story of which is related in the Qur'ān, and claims to have seen those dwellings which he found similar to the ordinary houses of his time except for the fact that they were hewn out of mountain rock. Of the mountain range called Athālib on which they were situated, he says that it seemed to be a single mountain but proved to be separate mountains. They were surrounded by lofty sand hills which could not be surmounted easily.

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

4. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

5. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 21.

6. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

The well of Thamūd was among them.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal uses the same words to describe al-Ḥijr except that he does not claim first hand knowledge of the Thamūdite dwellings on which he quotes al-Iṣṭakhri by his name, al-Fārisi.<sup>2</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri's statement on the location of Tabūk between al-Ḥijr and the southern boundaries of Syria<sup>3</sup> is repeated by Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>4</sup> and, about three centuries later, by Yāqūt, who attributes it to Abū Zaid.<sup>5</sup> There must have been another revised copy of Ibn Ḥauqal's work in existence which is not available yet, because Abū al-Fidā' quotes him to the effect that he himself had seen the Thamūdite dwellings.<sup>6</sup> As to the statement of al-Iṣṭakhri that the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and al-Ḥijr equals one day's journey, Ibn Ḥauqal repeats it literally and incurs the severe criticism of Abū al-Fidā' who claims to be sure that it equals five days' journey, which is not the case. Al-Bakrī estimates the distance between al-Ḥijr and Qurḥ as eighteen miles. He is of the opinion that Qurḥ is another name of Wādī al-Qurā.

According to al-Bakrī, al-Ḥijr was the habitat of Thamūd between Syria and the Hijaz. It seems that individual dwellings of Thamūd were famous even in his time for he states that they were rock-hewn and that the graves could also be seen. They were normal in size which suggests, according to him, that the Thamūdites were of normal stature, unlike 'Ād, the ancient, who were giants. This information is

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

3. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 825.

6. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 89.

borrowed from al-Mas'ūdī, though al-Bakrī does not mention his name.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī believes that what accounts for their strange manner of building is the unusual longevity of the Thamūdites who would have outlasted any dwelling erected by ordinary means.<sup>2</sup> Al-Maqdisī, however, indicates that both tribes were contemporary.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī situates al-Ḥijr between the Hijaz and Syria near the Red Sea and on the Syrian pilgrim route in the Tabūk region.

In *al-Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī states that the route between Medina and Taimā' leads through al-Ḥijr<sup>4</sup> which implies that al-Ḥijr was on the Syrian pilgrim route even for those who chose the north-eastern route. Naṣr locates al-Ḥijr between Syria and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>5</sup> Of al-Ḥijr, al-Muqaddasī says:

«a small town and fortified. It has many wells and corn-fields. The Mosque of Ṣālih is situated in close vicinity on a height; it has the form of an open gallery, cut in a rock. In this place are to be found the Marvels of Thamūd and their habitations».<sup>6</sup>

Wakī' locates al-Ḥijr south of al-Junainah and north of Wādī al-Qurā on the Syrian pilgrim route.<sup>7</sup> Lughdah describes al-Ḥijr as a market-town whose inhabitants live just outside the dwellings of Thamūd.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 3, p. 84.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 12.

3. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 36.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 330.

5. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 51.

6. Al Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 84, the English translation, p. 134.

7. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

8. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-98.

Al-Idrīsī says that al-Ḥijr is one day's journey from Wādī al-Qurā. It is, according to him, a small fortress in the mountains which contains the Thamūdite rock-hewn dwellings and is called by the natives Abālib (Athālib). They seem to be a single mountain, but prove to be separate mountains. They are surrounded by lofty sand hills which could not be surmounted easily. The well of Thamūd is there<sup>1</sup>. It is clear that he is copying Ibn Ḥauqal's statement. He adds, however, that the distance between al-Ḥijr and Taimā' is four days. This is contradictory to the assessments of both al-Hamdānī<sup>2</sup> and al-Bakrī<sup>3</sup> who state that it is three days only. Al-Idrīsī might have been misled by al-Muqaddasī's estimate of the distance between Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā, not al-Ḥijr, as four days.<sup>4</sup> Mapping the Syrian pilgrim route, al-Idrīsī locates al-Majz (al-Ḥijr) between al-Ḥanifiyyah (al-Junainah) in the north, and a small village on a small river (Wādī al-Qurā) to the south, adding that it is a strongly fortified fortress amidst mountains in the territory of Thamūd.<sup>5</sup> He enumerates al-Ḥijr among the famous localities in the fifth part of the third climate.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Ḥijr is a well-known site in that region where massive efforts are being made to increase our knowledge of its past.

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1. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 131.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 330

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

5. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 96, and see *infra*, p. 433.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.



## AL-‘IṢ

Al-Iṣṭakhri, who describes al-‘Iṣ as a small fortress is correct in locating it between Yanbu‘ and al-Marwah.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hauqal omits this statement in the printed text of his *Masālik*, but calls it, in the unpublished MS. III Ahmet 3012, al-Faiḍ and describes it as «from Yanbu‘ and al-Marwah»,<sup>2</sup> «From» here is no doubt a corruption of «between» which is the only acceptable form. Al-Mas‘ūdī places it in the land of Juhainah<sup>3</sup> and, in another passage, on the route to al-Marwah, one day's journey from the latter and four days from Medina. He locates it south-west of al-Marwah.<sup>4</sup> His source seems to be Ibn Sa‘d.<sup>5</sup> Al-Hamdānī's location of al-‘Iṣ is somewhat obscure in the printed version where he says that al-‘Iṣ lies between «them» by which he refers to Wādī al-Qurā and al-Ḥijr, which is unlikely to be al-Hamdānī's actual statement. However, he correctly adds that al-‘Iṣ grows a famous kind of date which is called after it.<sup>6</sup> He places al-‘Iṣ in the Juhainī land<sup>7</sup> though he states, in another passage, that both Juhainah and Muzainah live there. He also records a poem by the Hijāzī poet al-‘Ajlānī who is precise in locating it between Buwāṭ in the south

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

3. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 233.

5. Ibn Sa‘d, *op. cit.*, part I, vol. 2, p. 63.

6. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 131.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

2. p. 26.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

and al-Rass in the north. Since the poet locates al-Rass south of al-Marwah,<sup>1</sup> it appears that his location of al-‘Iṣ is in line with the above-quoted authors apart from al-Hamdānī.

Al-Wāqidi speaks of the environment of al-‘Iṣ, where some of the early Meccan Muslims took refuge when persecuted by the native polytheists and were turned away by the Prophet in accordance with a pledge he had given to the latter. But the refugees molested the Syrian-bound Meccan caravans until the polytheists themselves begged the Prophet to admit the refugees to Medina. Al-Wāqidi implies that they lived near the sea whose fish they ate.<sup>2</sup> This statement indicates that al-‘Iṣ is not only the village, but a large area stretching to the sea. Al-Hajari situates al-‘Iṣ at or near the route between Medina and al-Marwah.<sup>3</sup> Both al-Zubairi<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Ḥazm<sup>5</sup> state that the descendants of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Auf possessed property at al-‘Iṣ. They do not, however, attempt to locate it apart from describing it as a dependency of Medina. Al-Zamakhshari does not elaborate beyond saying that it is a «place».<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt voices the assumption, which he attributes to al-Ḥāzimī, that Jumḍān is a mountain between Yanbu‘ and al-‘Iṣ, the latter being one night’s journey from Medina.<sup>7</sup> This statement can be traced back to Naṣr<sup>8</sup> who adds that al-‘Iṣ is a dependency of Medina, inhabited by Juhainah and the Ḥasanis.<sup>9</sup>

So far, the location of al-‘Iṣ is, on the whole, correct. As

1. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

2. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

3. Al-Hajari, *Nawādir*, part 1, fol. 213.

4. Al-Zubairi, *Nasab*, p. 271.

5. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 125.

6. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, p. 117.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 3, p. 753.

8. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 44.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 116.

to the 'Iṣ mentioned by 'Arrām, it is situated off the Irāqī pilgrimage route to Mecca near Ṣufainah.<sup>1</sup> Since 'Arrām makes no mention of the 'Iṣ in question which was more famous than the one he does mention, al-Bakrī fails to distinguish between the two places and consequently applies 'Arrām's statement to both<sup>2</sup>. Clearly, 'Arrām's 'Iṣ is situated at the foot of Mt. Burthum near al-Suwāriqiyyah, in Sulaimī land,<sup>3</sup> whereas our 'Iṣ is near al-Marwah in Juhainī land. Yāqūt's information is even more confusing as he mentions that Dhanabān is a watering place in al-'Iṣ. He records 'Arrām's statement, applying it to the Juhainī 'Iṣ about which he quotes Ibn Ishāq to the effect that it lies in the Marwah region.<sup>4</sup>

Al-'Iṣ is a valley containing several villages to the east of Umm Lujj on the Red Sea.

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1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

3. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 814, 985.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 753.

## AL-JĀR

Ibn Khurradadbeh records the fact that Jiddah and al-Jār are frequented by non-Muslim traders from east and west.<sup>1</sup> Listing the halts of the pilgrim coastal route from Egypt, al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Jār south of al-Ḥaurā' and north of al-Juhfah.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah, on the other hand, mentions three way-stations between al-Jarrah (al-Ḥaurā') and al-Jār, namely al-Aḥsā', Yanbu' and Mas'ūlān. He implies that the pilgrim route leads from al-Jār to Medina which can be reached in two days.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh merely enumerates al-Jār among the towns of the second climate, without giving further information.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh relates that the adjoining section of the Red Sea is called «Sea of al-Jār».<sup>5</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī lists al-Jār among the towns of Mecca,<sup>6</sup> and describes it, together with Jiddah, as «the two granaries of Egypt».<sup>7</sup> As to the distance to and from al-Jār, al-Muqaddasī states that it is equidistant at one day's journey from both Badr and al-'Ushairah,<sup>8</sup> at two days' distance from both al-Juhfah and Yanbu' and at four days' journey from Jiddah.<sup>9</sup> Describing al-Jār, al-Muqaddasī says:

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

5. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, p. 78 .

7. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

«Al-Jār is on the sea coast; it is fortified and walled on three sides, the quarter facing the sea being open. It contains lofty mansions and a thriving market. Al-Jār is the granary of al-Madīnah and its townships. Water is carried to the town from Badr and food grains from Egypt. Its mosque has no courtyard». <sup>1</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri mentions al-Jār when speaking about the Sea of Fāris which stretches to al-Jār, Madyan and al-Qulzum.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal follows him in this<sup>3</sup> and in other details<sup>4</sup> such as that al-Jār is the port of Median, that it is situated at three days' journey from it, and that it is smaller than Jiddah and is «on the sea».<sup>5</sup> When borrowing al-Iṣṭakhri's assessment of the distance from al-Jār to al-Juḥfah and Ailah,<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal is definite that they equal three days' and twenty days' journey respectively,<sup>7</sup> unlike al-Iṣṭakhri who only says that this is more or less the case. Ibn Ḥauqal, however, is alone in stating that the *Ḥ.d.an* حدان islands which stretch as far as 'Aidhāb opposite al-Jār on the other side of the Red Sea, have ships ready for pilgrims desirous to cross to either al-Jār or Jiddah.<sup>8</sup> He also states that there are uninhabited places facing Madyan, al-Jār and Jiddah.<sup>9</sup> The author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* describes al-Jār as «a borough on the sea coast which is the emporium of Medina».<sup>10</sup>

Relying on Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, Waki' locates al-Jār on the coast and lists it among the dependencies of Medina.<sup>11</sup> On another

1. *Ibid.*, p. 83, the English translation, p. 132.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

10. *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 148.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

7. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

occasion, however, Wakī' locates al-Jār, the sea port الجار at a few miles from the pass of Hirshā.<sup>1</sup> This is likely to be a scribal mistake, since Hirshā is too far from al-Jār to be located at a few miles from it. It appears that the phrase: «al-Jār the sea port الجار ساحل البحر is a misreading of «the coast of the sea of al-Jār ساحل بحر الجار».

'Arrām states that al-Jār is a port frequented by ships from Ethiopia, Egypt, Bahrain and China. He describes it as a large, densely populated town with a *minbar*, and adds that one half of it is on an island while the other half is on the coast. Opposite al-Jār there is an island, Qurāf by name and a square mile in area, to which there is no access except by boat. This island is frequented only by Ethiopian ships. Its inhabitants, like those of al-Jār, are traders. They get their water from (a place) two parasangs away, while the people of al-Jār get theirs from a spring in the valley of Yalyal which flows from «the depths of the sands». That spring is renowned for its most abundant and very fresh water which flows through the sands and which withstands any attempt at control on the part of the peasants except in a few sandy zigzags (where) it irrigates groves of palm trees and (some fields of) vegetables and melons.<sup>2</sup> Both al-Bakrī<sup>3</sup> and Yāqūt<sup>4</sup> borrow 'Arrām's description of al-Jār with very minor alterations. Their quotation of 'Arrām provides his editor with the statement about Qurāf which is missing from the MS.

Al-Idrisī states that al-Jār is the port of Medina from which it lies at a distance of three days. According to him, al-Jār

1. *Ibid.*, fol. 51.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 355.

2. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 5.

used to be a prosperous densely populated «village» about the size of Jiddah, and its trade was dwindling in his time, though ships were still sailing in and out of it. He describes the journey between al-Jār and Jiddah as taking ten days along the sea coast where most of the way-stations are surrounded by lofty mounds, and the old road signs have been obliterated. The only signs remaining there are the mountains and the sea. Al-Idrīsī's route from Medina to al-Jār comprises the following stations:

from Medina to H.s.b. حسب (Khushub); then to 'A.r.b. عريب ('Udhaibah) which he says lies at the foot of a mountain, and has a fresh water well within easyreach; and finally al-Jār.<sup>1</sup> On another occasion, he maps the route from al-Ḥaurā' as follows:

from al-Ḥaurā' to Wādī al-Ṣafrā', which is an adequate port; from Wādī al-Ṣafrā' to al-Quraifah which is a prosperous port getting its water from afar;

From Quraifah to al-Jār, and then to al-Juḥfah.<sup>2</sup> Al-Idrīsī, in a third passage, locates al-Jār south of al-Ḥaurā' and north of al-Yazīd (Quda'id).<sup>3</sup> He places al-Jār in the fifth part of the second climate and describes it as one of its famous ports.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Hamdānī speaks of al-Jār as the port of Medina,<sup>5</sup> adding that the valley of al-'Ushairah is not to be confused with the sands of al-'Ushairah in the region of al-Sirrain.<sup>6</sup> According to the Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, whom al-Hamdānī quotes,

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 89, and see *infra*, p.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 88.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 47.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 34.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

al-Jār is situated between Waddān and Badr.<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that location by poetry cannot always be precise. Ibn Sa'd claims that al-Jār has another name, Būlā.<sup>2</sup> Al-Maqdisi lists al-Jār among the Arab territories of the second climate.<sup>3</sup> Al-Birūnī describes al-Jār as the port of Medina «on the sea», giving its degrees of longitude and latitude as 66.20 and 23.50 respectively.<sup>4</sup>

In his *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī mentions a multitude of places adjacent to al-Jār such as Kulfā on which he quotes Ibn Ḥabīb's location between Waddān and al-Jār;<sup>5</sup> al-Bazwā', which is inhabited by B. Ḍamrah;<sup>6</sup> al-Surair which he describes as one of the valleys of Khaibar seven miles from al-Jār;<sup>7</sup> al-Jamish, a desert between Mecca and al-Jār;<sup>8</sup> Shanūkah between al-'Udhaib ('Udhaibah) and al-Jār, sixteen miles from al-Jār and thirty-two miles from Yanbu';<sup>9</sup> al 'Udhaib ('Udhaibah), a locality on the route (from Egypt) to Mecca between Yanbu' and al-Jār;<sup>10</sup> Dhāt al-Sulaim, a well in the possession of the B. Ḍamrah; Ḥasnā, a mountain between Waddān and al-Jār;<sup>11</sup> and the Faifā' of Khuraim on the route from Medina to al-Jār.<sup>12</sup> As regards the above-mentioned statement attributed by al-Bakrī to Ibn Ḥabīb in relation of Kulfā, Yāqūt ascribes it to Ibn al-Sikkī,<sup>13</sup> to whom Yāqūt also ascribes al-Bakrī's location of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

2. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, part I, vol. I, p. 139.

3. Al-Maqdisi, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 50.

4. Al-Birūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 551.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 355.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 248.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 737.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 884.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 928.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

13. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 300.



al-‘Udaibah. Moreover, he quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when saying that Ḥasnā’ is a desert between al-Jār and Waddān where *al-jaihal* (ḥayyahal) grass grows.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī attributes to al-Ḥarbī the statement that al-Jār is the port of Medina,<sup>2</sup> a statement attributed by Yāqūt to Ibn al-Kalbī.<sup>3</sup> As to al-Surair, it is clear that the waters of a Khaibar valley cannot abut upon al-Jār, and thus Naṣr’s distinction between two Surairs, one in Khaibar and the other in the proximity of al-Jār<sup>4</sup> is more correct. Al-Bakrī refers to ‘Arrām when saying that al-Jār is a dependency of Medina without dependencies of its own,<sup>5</sup> but this statement is not traceable in the available work of ‘Arrām.

Al-Bakrī assesses the distances between al-Jār and Badr at sixteen miles and adds that the latter gets its food supply from al-Jār.<sup>6</sup> ‘Iyād follows al-Bakrī as regards this distance,<sup>7</sup> and describes al-Jār as the port of Medina, a large village «on the sea», densely populated and abounding in mansions.<sup>8</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī describes al-Jār as a coastal village where ships from ‘Aidhāb, Qulzum and the Sea of al-Na‘ām can be seen.<sup>9</sup> Naṣr says that al-Jār is the sea port of Medina, but reduces the distance between al-Jār and Medina to a mere journey of one day and one night.<sup>10</sup> The truth of this contention is disproved by the following story: ‘Umar is

1. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 268.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 7.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 2, p. 5.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 39.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 10.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

7. ‘Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 100.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 145.

9. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Ḥibāl*, p. 165.

10. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 39.

said to have intimated to a client that he liked fresh fish, whereupon the client hurried to al-Jār from which he came, after three days, bringing the fish with him. But 'Umar refused to consume the fish himself, as he believed that the mount had been subjected to cruelty by being ridden at excessive speed.<sup>1</sup> Another version of the story cites the round journey of the client as taking four days, which 'Umar regarded as unusually short for such a distance.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Bakrī proffers an explanation of the origin of the name al-Jār which strikes one not merely as archaic, but even as so contrary to all logic that it could be safely disregarded. The author of al-*Tijān* relates a story in which the name al-Jār الجار is derived from *ḡāruh* جاره in this poem:<sup>3</sup>

أعينك بالرحمن أن تجمعني هوى      عليه وهجراناً وحبك (حيك) جاره

Now al-Bakrī attributes this story to Ibn al-Kalbī, but replaces the support word *ḡāruh* جاره by قاتله *Qātiluh* and thus regards the whole poem as a support, which, in spite of the editor's efforts, carries no conviction whatsoever.<sup>4</sup> This, however, does not mean that the author of al-*Tijān* has offered an acceptable theory.

Al-Jār is still known near al-Rā'is, a small village on the Red Sea south of Yanbu'.

1. Al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* p. 129.

2. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rauḍ*, fol. 85.

3. Al-*Tijān*, p. 194.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 356.

## JIDDAH

Jiddah is the most important coastal town of the Hijaz. It derives its importance from being the port of Mecca. Al-Shu'aibah used to perform this function before Islam and until the time of 'Uthmān who, in 26 A.H. (646) chose Jiddah to replace it.<sup>1</sup> However, at the time of political crises, which were by no means infrequent, Jiddah was often passed over in favour of weaker neighbouring ports such as al-Shu'aibah, al-Qunfudhah or even Rābigh, and was either besieged by the rulers of Mecca or had to appease their insatiable avarice which was often attracted by its wealth. Jiddah suffered from successive rulers of Mecca and native chiefs more than from the foreign enemies who also attacked it. Nevertheless, Jiddah, which had been at the time of 'Uthmān mere huts, was transformed gradually into a bulwark of Mecca and the garrison for troops, of which it was said, in later years, that a prayer in Jiddah was more rewarding than many million prayers elsewhere. This was a result of the growth of the seafaring trade and the increasing number of pilgrims as well as the dangers of foreign attack.

Mapping the coastal route from Oman to Mecca, Ibn Khurradadbeh situates Jiddah between Mecca and an unnamed halt north of al-Shu'aibah.<sup>2</sup> He also records the

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1. Al-Fāsi, *Shifā'*, vol. 1, p. 88.

2. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

fact that Jiddah, like al-Jār, was frequented by non-Muslim traders who imported wares from east and west.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh lists Jiddah among the towns of the second climate<sup>2</sup>, adding that a part of the Red Sea is referred to as the Sea of Jiddah.<sup>3</sup> He states that sea-borne pilgrims from Egypt cross the Red Sea from al-‘Allāqī to Jiddah in twenty-four hours.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to notice here that al-Muqaddasī assesses it at 300 parasangs which can be covered in twenty-five to sixty days’ journey according to the direction of the wind<sup>5</sup>. Ibn Rosteh calculates the distance from Jiddah to Mecca as two days. Al-Ya‘qūbī lists Jiddah among the dependencies of Mecca,<sup>6</sup> and points out that the food supplies from Egypt to Mecca are transported by way of Jiddah.<sup>7</sup> He implies, in another passage, that Jiddah is on the Yemenite coast.<sup>8</sup> All that Ibn al-Faḡīh has to say about Jiddah is that the stretch of the Red Sea facing Mecca is called the Sea of Jiddah.<sup>9</sup> Al-Hamdānī refers to Jiddah as the port of Mecca,<sup>10</sup> and places it in the second climate.<sup>11</sup> He follows the traditionalists in stating that it was in Jiddah that Ḥawwā (Ḥawwā’ = Eve) began her search for Adam.<sup>12</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās is quoted to the effect that Eve was buried there.<sup>13</sup> Al-Bakrī, in *al-Masālik*, states, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, that Jiddah was the place to which Eve went from Paradise and that she was buried at Mecca.<sup>14</sup> Al-Idrīsī, however, says that Eve went from Paradise to Jiddah where she died and was buried.<sup>15</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

9. Ibn al-Faḡīh, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

13. Al-Fāsī, *Shifā’*, vol. 1, p. 88.

15. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

6. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 316.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

10. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 47.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

14. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fols. 4, 6.

Al-Hamdānī also quotes al-‘Ajlānī, the Hijazi poet, in support of locating Jiddah between al-Qirsh and Judaidāt.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri states that Jiddah which lies at two days distance from Mecca whose port it is larger than al-Jār. According to him, Jiddah is a large flourishing town dominated by the Persians. It is second only to Mecca with regard to trade and the capital invested in it.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal proffers the same in the early copy of his *Masālik*,<sup>3</sup> but implies, in the later copy, that Jiddah suffered economically under the harsh governorship of Ibn Ja‘far, the Hashemite ruler of Mecca, which led to the break up of its trading community.<sup>4</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri assesses the distance from Jiddah to Aden at about one month’s journey and from Jiddah to al-Juhfah at about five days journey.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal records the same, except for the omission of «about» with respect to the distance from Aden to Jiddah.<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt, however, attributes this statement to Abū Zaid of Balkh.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal’s<sup>8</sup> location of Jiddah on the Sea of Fāris is identical with that of al-Iṣṭakhri,<sup>9</sup> but differs from him in stating, in his later copy, that there are uninhabited places between Ailah, Madyan, al-Jār and Jiddah.<sup>10</sup> In the later copy, Ibn Ḥauqal adds that there are boats on the islands of B. Ḥ.d.an حِدَان ready to transport the pilgrims to Jiddah at a moment’s notice. He states that the «islands» of Sawākin face Jiddah, whereas the isle of Sinjelah lies one day’s journey from Jiddah.<sup>11</sup> The author

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 218.

3. P. 27.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 2, p. 41.

9. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

11. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

10. p. 48.

of *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* says : «Judda is a town belonging to Mekka and situated on the sea coast, prosperous and flourishing».<sup>1</sup> He describes Jiddah as situated on the western borders of the Arabian desert.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī assumes the distance from Jiddah to Bāb al-Abwāb as 600 parasangs, and the distance from Jiddah to Mecca as thirty-two miles.<sup>3</sup> Al-Muqaddasī states that Jiddah is a Hijazi town,<sup>4</sup> and that pilgrims coming from ‘Aidhāb, which lies opposite to Jiddah on the other side of the Red Sea, begin performing their pilgrimage rites at Jiddah.<sup>5</sup> About Jiddah itself, al-Muqaddasī says,

«Juddah is a town on the Sea shore, whence it derives its name. It is fortified, flourishing and populous and its inhabitants are chiefly merchants and people of wealth. Juddah is the granary of Makkah and the emporium of al-Yaman and Egypt. It has a noble mosque. The water supply, however, is not sufficient although there are many reservoirs in the town. Water is brought from a distance. The Persians are the ruling class and live in splendid palaces. The streets are straight and the situation of the town excellent, but the heat is very great.»<sup>6</sup>

He states that millet is imported to Jiddah from al-Sharjah, Ḥirdah and ‘Aṭanah;<sup>7</sup> and that Jiddah and al-Jār are the two granaries of Egypt.<sup>8</sup> Al-Muqaddasī also proffers some

1. *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 148.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

3. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 4, p. 30.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 79, English translation, p. 127.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

information about the customs and taxes of Jiddah saying,

«At Juddah  $\frac{1}{2}$  *dinār* is exacted on every load of wheat and a *kail* (gallon) from each half of a camel-load; on a bundle of *Shaṭawi* linen, 3 *dinars* and on a bundle of *Dabiḡi*, 2 *dinars* and on every bale of wool, 2 *dinars*. The land taxes are as follows : on the caravans of Juddah half a *dinar* at both al-Qarīn and Baṭn Marr.»<sup>1</sup>

As regards the population of Jiddah, al-Muqaddasī states that the Persians are in the majority there, but that their language is Arabic.<sup>2</sup> He calculates the distance from Jiddah to Mecca as two days' journey, to Baṭn Marr as one day's journey,<sup>3</sup> to either al-Jār or al-Sirrain as four days' journey<sup>4</sup> and that to al-Qulzum as 300 prasangs. He is in no doubt about the last mentioned figure because he states that this journey lasts from 25 to 60 days according to the direction of the wind. Al-Bīrūnī states that Jiddah is the port of Mecca and assesses its latitudes at 21°. 20' and its longitude at 66°. 30'.<sup>5</sup> Al-Maqdisī enumerates Jiddah among the large urban communities of the Hijaz,<sup>6</sup> and situates it in the second climate.<sup>7</sup> The author of *Ākām al-Murjān* states that Jiddah is the port at which the seaborne pilgrims dock on their way from Suez to Mecca.<sup>8</sup>

In his *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī concerns himself with the origin of the name «Juddah» which he attributes to its coastal position termed «al-Juddah» in Arabic.<sup>9</sup> This name seems to

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105, English translation, p. 159.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 96, English translation, pp. 159-160.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

5. Al-Bīrūnī, *Qān Ūn*, vol. 4, p. 70.

6. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 50.

8. *Ākām al-Murjān*, 33.

9. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 371.

have been regarded as ancient at least as a certain Juddah b. Jurm who was born at Jiddah and named after it as is recorded by al-Bakrī on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī quotes Ibn Faḍālah to the effect that Jiddah is famous, and that it is the port of Mecca.<sup>2</sup> He records this statement in another passage without quoting a source.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī also mentions Jiddah's situation on the extreme (western) border of Arabia,<sup>4</sup> and the Sea of Jiddah which he designates as the western border of the Yemen.<sup>5</sup> He points out that Jiddah is in the Ghaur of Tihāmah.<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt quotes al-Zamakhsharī when calculating the distance between Jiddah and Mecca as three days' journey;<sup>7</sup> a statement not to be found in al-Zamakhsharī's *Jibāl* from which Yāqūt usually derives his quotation, and where Jiddah is referred to as a mere «place».<sup>8</sup> Nor is Yāqūt's quotation traceable in the two other works of al-Zamakhsharī which are likely to contain geographical information of this sort, *al-Fā'iḳ* and *Asās al-Balāghah*. As to the assessment of this distance at one day's and one night's journey which Yāqūt attributes to al-Ḥāzimī,<sup>9</sup> it is to be found in Naṣr's work.<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt also quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when stating that the region of Jiddah was allotted from the first to the Qudā'ah.<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī claims that 'Amr b. Luḥayy introduced to the Arabs the worship of five idols which he discovered at Jiddah.<sup>11</sup> He also states that an idol called Sa'd erected on the coast of Jiddah, remained in the care of the Kinānah.<sup>12</sup> Al-Zuhri, on the other hand, is thought

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 38.

8. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 41.

10. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 54.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 41.

9. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 40.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 36.



to have said that Jiddah was the camping place of the tribes Ḥā', al-Ash'ar and 'Akk who used to settle between «Jiddah and the sea».<sup>1</sup> Mālik is quoted as saying that the distance between Jiddah and Mecca is forty-eight miles.<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Asākir records a 9th century debate in which a poet from Medina pleaded with Dāwūd b. 'Isā, the Abbasid governor of the Hijaz, to pay a visit to Medina as he tarried too long in Mecca. A Meccan poet rebuked the Medinese and expatiated on the merits of Mecca with some harsh criticism of Medina. At this point, a third poet, al-'Ijlī by name, a native of Jiddah and one of the military volunteers, appeared on the scene to advocate the merits of Jiddah as the port of Mecca, the sacred bulwark of defence, a place which would witness great future events and the place whose martyrs were favoured above all martyrs.<sup>3</sup> Al-Jāhiz, in his *Rasā'il* indicates that Jiddah plays the role of a health resort to which (wealthy) Meccans repair in winter.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Idrisī lists Jiddah among the famous ports of the fifth part of the second climate.<sup>5</sup> He gives a very interesting account of the conditions prevailing at Jiddah in his time. According to him, no pilgrim was allowed to cross from 'Aidhāb to Jiddah without satisfying the authorities there that he was economically able to meet the demands of the pilgrimage. Once the boat had safely crossed, it docked at a distance from Jiddah whose governor then sent out customs officials to assess dues payable on taxable wares on

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1. *Al-Aghānī*, vol. II, p. 160.

2. Al-Bāji, *al-Muntaqā*, vol. 7, p. 192.

3. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, p. 210.

4. Al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il*, vol. I, p. 187.

5. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 34.

board ships, and accompany the passengers to the shore where the duties were collected. If a passenger could not acquit himself of the landing tax of eight *dinārs*, and the captain was unwilling to pay, the passenger was detained until the pilgrimage period was over. Sometimes, such passengers were saved by the beneficence of a third person. This payment was exacted on behalf of the Hashemite ruler of Mecca to cover the expenditure on his troops and household, as his revenue was not large enough to meet all his needs.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Idrisi's description of Jiddah is not as genuine as his information about the customs proceedings there. In describing Jiddah, he seems to rely on Ibn Hauqal and al-Muqaddasi. Nevertheless, his description is not devoid of interesting points. He states that Jiddah is a flourishing town with a brisk trade, a wealthy population with immense capital investment, large profits and adequate living conditions. It has a yearly trade season which precedes the pilgrim period when imported wares, selected goods and magnificent treasures are exchanged with satisfactory profit. Its people are second only to the Meccans in wealth and property. Its governor, appointed by the ruler of Mecca, receives its taxes, alms tax and customs duties and supervises its security arrangements. (The merchants of) Jiddah have numerous boats sailing in many directions, and also a number of fishing boats. As to the distances, al-Idrisi locates Jiddah north of al-Sufayyah (al-Shu'aibah) at three days' journey which he equates with forty miles.<sup>2</sup> According to him, Jiddah, together with Mecca, lies in the north of Tihamah.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, fol. 35.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 38.

Al-Idrīsī's harsh words about the severe treatment of pilgrims at Jiddah sound rather apologetical when compared with the statement of Ibn Jubair.<sup>1</sup> Though writing forty years after al-Idrīsī, Ibn Jubair refers to a period wider in span than that covered by al-Idrīsī's authorities. It appears that the ruler of Mecca had a representative at 'Aidhāb, the Egyptian port, to supervise the collection of dues levied on all pilgrims in transit. Those who did not pay were humiliated, and those who could not pay were exposed to various atrocities, surpassed only by the severe torture perpetrated at Jiddah. According to Ibn Jubair, this had been common practice in the whole Fatimid period, which is hard to credit, since the ruler of Mecca did not acquire absolute power until the 11th century, when both Baghdad and Cairo were too helpless to intervene. Moreover, Nāṣir-i Khusrav, though by no means intent on white-washing the ruler of Mecca, does not mention cruelty at Jiddah. In fact, he was himself, exempted from paying the dues without experiencing hardship.<sup>2</sup> He mentioned the cruelties imposed by the tribes on the route between Mecca and Medina.<sup>3</sup> Besides, it can hardly be credited that 'Aidhāb had always been the centre of such blatant oppression. It is more likely that it became one after the closure of the pilgrim coastal route through Ailah by the Crusaders, which is implied by Ibn Jubair himself when suggesting some substitutes for 'Aidhāb until Ailah is regained. In fact, it was not only the ruler of Mecca, notorious no doubt though he was, who exploited the pilgrims at 'Aidhāb. According to Ibn Jubair himself, shipowners also used to cram their ships so full of people

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1. Ibn Jubair, *Riḥlah*, pp. 56, 71, 73, 77, 78.

2. Nāṣir-i Khusrav, *Sefer-Nāmeḥ*, p. 75.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

that they recovered their cost with profit already on the maiden voyage of their craft. Authors earlier than Ibn Jubair view this procedure with resignation. Al-Idrisi implies that the Hashemite ruler of Mecca needed the revenue from these dues to maintain his household. 'Umārah acted as a go-between to secure the payment of some dues held back by the Fatimid government as a result of some Egyptian pilgrims having been slain by the retinue of the ruler of Mecca.<sup>1</sup> The Muslim rulers themselves vied with each other in appeasing the ruler of Mecca by paying an annual tribute so that he should forego levying dues and tolls from the pilgrims. However, this only encouraged him to exact more money from pilgrims whenever the official payment failed to arrive or fell short of satisfying his greed. It was not until Saladin put a temporary end to this practice that voices were raised against an abuse too inveterate to be successfully eradicated. According to Ibn Jubair, the ruler of Mecca claimed it as his right to exact these dues unless paid by other governments. The pilgrims were looked upon as legitimate booty, «even more so than non-Muslims». Moreover, wealthy Muslims had to bribe the ruler before carrying out any improvement or maintenance projects at places of religious interest in Mecca, or attempting to facilitate the pilgrimage journey. Dues on pilgrims had been levied before Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan whom 'Abd Allāh Ghāzī accuses of originating the practice in 358 A.H. (969).<sup>2</sup> An Abbasid chief minister had even been praised, thirty

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1. 'Umārah, *al-Nukat*, pp. 42, 123.

2. Aḥmad al-Sibā'ī, *Tārīkh Makkah*, vol. 1, p. 175.

years before, for trying to bring the dues systems to an end<sup>1</sup>. The avarice of the ruler was by no means limited to pilgrims, since the trading community of Jiddah was subjected to periodical atrocities which, as Ibn Hauqal observes, usually resulted in a temporary break-up of these communities.

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1. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, *Dhail*, p. 39.

## AL-JUḤFAH

Al-Juḥfah, a halt on the northern pilgrim route to Mecca, is important in that it is not only the rendezvous of pilgrims, but also the point at which certain pilgrims have to start observing the rules of the *hajj*. Hence it is mentioned by all Arab geographers of the period under consideration, often with additional information. According to Ibn Khurradadbeh, who locates it south of al-Abwā' and north of Quda'id, it is a place in Tihāmah with wells; and lies at a distance of eight miles from the sea. The distance between al-Juḥfah and al-Abwā' is twenty-seven miles which is the same as that between al-Juḥfah and Quda'id. He singles out the Syrian pilgrims as having to start their pilgrimage rites there.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Juḥfah, which, according to him, forms a dependency of Mecca,<sup>2</sup> south of al-Abwā' and north of Quda'id without giving the mileage.<sup>3</sup> He mentions al-Juḥfah both in connection with the conventional route between Mecca and Medina,<sup>3</sup> and the coastal route between Ailah and Mecca.<sup>4</sup> He locates Ghadir Khumm at two miles' distance from the road to al-Juḥfah.<sup>3</sup> Of the population of al-Juḥfah, al-Ya'qūbī says that it comes from the Sulaim.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 316.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

Ibn Rosteh's calculation of the mileage of the distance to and from al-Juhfah is in accordance with that of Ibn Khurradhbeh, except for the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid which is assessed at twenty-nine miles. Ibn Rosteh also states that al-Juhfah is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims should start performing their pilgrimage rites. He describes al-Juhfah as a huge-sized village whose supply of water comes from wells.<sup>1</sup> Qudamah differs from his predecessors not only in calculating the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid as twenty-six miles, but also in describing al-Juhfah as a sea port.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khurradhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudamah mention only the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. Al-Mas'udi states that al-Juhfah lies at a distance of ten miles from Rābigh for those who travel from Medina.<sup>3</sup> This somewhat complicated definition is borrowed from al-Wāqidi to the letter.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa'd's description is less complicated as he says that al-Aḥya', situated in the valley of Rābigh, is at a distance of ten miles from al-Juhfah on the left hand side of the road «if you want Qudaid».<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas'udi also places Ghadir Khumm near al-Juhfah.

Al-Iṣṭakhri describes al-Juhfah, situated at two miles' distance from the sea, as the only village between Mecca and Medina with a permanently settled population. It shares this trait with Faïd to which it is also comparable in size. Al-Juhfah, he adds, is notable for its prosperity.<sup>6</sup> Ibn Hauqal

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1. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

2. Qudamah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. Al-Mas'udi, *Tanbih*, p. 234.

4. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 10.

5. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, part 2, vol. 2, p. 2.

6. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

borrowes the whole of this statement, except in implying that there are other, though minor, settlements of this kind between Mecca and Medina as he says, «As to size and settled character of the population, al-Juhfah is second to none».<sup>1</sup> Both al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>3</sup> assess the distance between Waddān and al-Juhfah at one day's journey, which Yāqūt attributes to Abū Zaid.<sup>4</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri gives the distance from al-Juhfah to Jiddah in the south, and al-Jār in the north as five and three days' journey respectively,<sup>5</sup> which corresponds to the data given by Ibn Ḥauqal, who obviously relies on him for this information.<sup>6</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri mentions the existence of a coastal route from Madyan to Mecca which leads through al-Juhfah where pilgrims from Iraq, Damascus, Palestine and Egypt meet.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal says the same except that he speaks of pilgrim routes instead of pilgrims.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Hamdāni enumerates al-Juhfah among the places of Tihāmah<sup>9</sup> and indicates, in another passage, that it is in the extreme northern limit of the administrative districts of Mecca.<sup>10</sup> He records the well-known fact that al-Juhfah is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims should start performing their pilgrimage rites and includes the Egyptians with them in his statement.<sup>11</sup> As to the distance between al-Juhfah and al-Abwā' to the north, and Quda'id to the south, al-Hamdāni assesses it at twenty-three and twenty-four miles

1. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

7. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

9. Al-Hamdāni, *Ṣifāh*, p. 48.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 41.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 120.



repectively. He gives its latitude as  $22^{\circ} 10'$ .<sup>1</sup> In another passage, he inserts a poem by al-'Ajlānī, a Hijazi poet, in which al-Juḥfah is counted as a place in the Hijaz between al-Sitārah and Quds.<sup>2</sup> Al-Azhari points out that al-Juḥfah, the point at which the Syrian pilgrims start performing the rites of the Ḥajj, is a village near the sea.<sup>3</sup> Al-Birūnī describes it as a flourishing Arabian locality in the second climate near the sea and gives its degree of longitude as  $65^{\circ}$  and that of its latitude as  $22^{\circ} 15'$ .<sup>4</sup> Al-Maqdisī lists it among the principal rural towns of the Hijaz.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī says that al-Juḥfah is:

«a flourishing town inhabited by the Banū Ja'far; it is commanded by a strong fortress which has two gates. It possesses a few wells and at a distance of two miles from it is a spring of water; it has also a large reservoir, but water sometimes becomes very scarce in it. Al-Juḥfah is a hot-bed of fever. It is related to a tradition that the Prophet of God, peace and blessing be upon him, said, 'O God, endear al-Madinah to us as thou hast endeared Makkah, and even more, and transplant its fever to al-Juḥfah'»<sup>6</sup>

He also mentions the fact that al-Juḥfah is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims start observing the requirements of pilgrimage, and the existence of a mountain called al-Dhabīb or al-Dhunaib by name, situated on the opposite side of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

3. Al-Azhari, *Tahdhib*, vol. 4, p. 160.

4. Al-Birūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 551.

5. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78, English translation, p. 124.

al-Juḥfah, at which the (sea-borne) pilgrims begin their pilgrimage rites.<sup>1</sup> Al-Muqaddasī enumerates al-Juḥfah among the dependencies of Mecca<sup>2</sup> and states that dragon's blood is found there.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Muqaddasī, al-Juḥfah is equidistant from al-Khaim (in the direction of Mecca) and Badr (in the direction of Medina) at one day's journey, but that it is at two days' journey from al-Jār.<sup>4</sup> Al-Muqaddasī expresses one adverse judgment on al-Juḥfah describing it, together with al-Marwah, as the «native country of libertines».<sup>5</sup> He finds a point of similarity between al-Juḥfah and Dandānaqān in that they have the baths and guest houses in their outskirts.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Bakrī describes al-Juḥfah, in his *Muʿjam*, as a principal village with a *minbar*,<sup>7</sup> giving details of several routes leading through the place.<sup>8</sup> According to him, there are two mosques of the Prophet there and a third in Ghadīr Khumm, which is at three miles' distance from al-Juḥfah on the left of the road. There is also a spring which flows into a cistern richly surrounded by trees. It was from that thicket that the Prophet announced to his people: «Friends of mine are friends of 'Alī. O God, befriend his friends and destroy his enemies.» Al-Bakrī adds that the Prophet pointed out al-Juḥfah as the place at which all pilgrims from Syria should start the rites prescribed for the pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> He claims that it forms one of the twelve villages which have *minbars* and are subordinated to the administrative control of al-Fur'.<sup>8</sup>

As to the distances between al-Juḥfah and the neighbouring

1. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 368.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1021.

halts, al-Bakri says that it is two days' distant from Badr; twenty-three miles from al-Abwā'; two miles from Dhātul-'Aṣāfir and twelve miles from Kulayyah.<sup>1</sup> It seems rather strange that he places Rābigh, which lies at a distance of a mere ten miles north of al-Juhfah, between the latter and Medina which lies at several days' journey from al-Juhfah.<sup>2</sup> In another entry, he states that al-Marād is a locality between Rābigh and al-Juhfah.<sup>3</sup> Of these two statements, the latter is very exact and the former rather vague. Al-Idrīsī places al-Juhfah at a distance of twenty-six miles from Quda'id in the south, and twenty-seven miles from al-Abwā' (al-Abwā') in the north. He describes it as a flourishing halt, unfortified but densely populated. He also mentions that it is the point at which the Syrian pilgrims should start practising their rites of pilgrimage.<sup>4</sup> He lists al-Juhfah among the sea ports in the fifth part of the second climate and adds that it is one of the fortresses with a governor of its own.<sup>5</sup> He omits it from the Egyptian coastal route in one version<sup>6</sup> but mentions it in another.<sup>7</sup> 'Iyād assesses the distance between al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah at twenty-three miles.<sup>8</sup> He also differs from the rest in placing al-Juhfah north of al-Abwā' which can be attributed only to inadvertence. 'Iyād situates Khumm at three miles from al-Juhfah adding that there is a thicket with a famous pool named after it. Describing al-Juhfah, 'Iyād says that it is one of the places where the first rites of *al-Ḥajj* are performed; that it is a principal village in Minā (sic) on the route between Mecca and Medina from which it is at eight days' distance,

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1006.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 35.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 36.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 625.

4. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 88.

8. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 49.

and that it is six miles from the sea.<sup>1</sup> 'Iyād is clearly mistaken in locating al-Juḥfah at Minā, since Minā does not lie on the route from Medina to Mecca. What he has in mind is Manāh, the idol erected at al-Mushallal near Qudaid at a day's journey from al-Juḥfah.

Al-Khawārasmi is quoted to the effect that the distance between al-Juḥfah and al-Suqyā is twenty-nine miles.<sup>2</sup> Al-Asadi assesses the distance between al-Juḥfah and Kulayyah to the south, at twelve miles,<sup>3</sup> and that from al-Juḥfah to Khumm at four miles.<sup>4</sup> Al-Sukkari calculates the distance between al-Juḥfah and Mecca as three days' journey, and states that it is the point where the southern and eastern borders of al-Ghaur converge with al-Thaghr.<sup>5</sup> The commentator on the *diwān* of al-Khansā' says that (the village of) Shuwān lies in the upper section of the valley of al-Juḥfah which he describes as a Tihāmi village.<sup>6</sup> Al-Kutbi claims that «al-Juḥfah was built» by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.<sup>7</sup> Al-Zubairi implies that al-Juḥfah used to be cultivated, in the seventh century by Ibn 'Āmir, a wealthy Meccan who also owned a village called «Bustān Ibn 'Āmir» which lay on the Iraqi pilgrim route to Mecca.<sup>8</sup> This piece of information may provide a solution to the old argument about the identity of the owner of that village. Some authors identify him with Ibn Ma'mar, who according to al-Baṭalyūsi was interested in wells and farming.<sup>9</sup> Others

1. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 145.

3. Al-Samhūdi, *Wafā'*, p. 1295.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 35.

7. Al-Kutbi, *Fawāt*, vol. 2, p. 208.

8. Al-Zubairi, *Nasab*, p. 148.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 104.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1018.

6. Al-Khansā', *Diwān*, p. 97.

9. Al-Baṭalyūsi, *Iqtidāb*, p. 226.

believe that it was Ibn 'Amir, who is known to have owned a farm in al-Juhfah.<sup>1</sup> Al-Zubairi is well-informed about Mecca and about the rural settlements in the Hijaz. His explanation is more likely to be correct than that of others.<sup>2</sup>

The etymological derivation of the name al-Juhfah varies from one author to another. Ibn al-Kalbī seems to be the source of the most frequently quoted explanation. According to him, 'Abil, his sons and his followers, all from 'Ād, were driven out from Yathrib by the 'Amāliq. While in Mahya'ah, the former were carried away by the flood, an episode which accounts for the name of the place الجحفة which is derived from اجتحفهم السيل.<sup>3</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī relates this story without mentioning Mahya'ah.<sup>4</sup> The Prophet is said to have used both names. Once seeing his Meccan companions suffering from the fever of Medina, the Prophet prayed to God to transfer that fever to Mahya'ah, al-Juhfah in another *ḥadith*.<sup>5</sup> On another occasion he referred to al-Juhfah in connection with the pilgrimage rites.<sup>6</sup> Thus the philologists were obliged to look for a link between those two names. Ibn Qutaibah digs less deep than Ibn al-Kalbī, merely pointing to the flood of the year 80 A.H., (699) as the origin of the name.<sup>7</sup> Though he is followed in this respect by 'Iyād,<sup>8</sup> it is clear that this assumption is groundless as the name al-Juhfah is found in use at least seventy years before this

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1. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 89.

2. *Infra*, p.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 369.

4. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Mur Ūj*, vol. 3, p. 301.

5. Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Mawāhib*, vol. 1, p. 420.

6. Al-Nawawī, *Al-Majmū'*, vol. 7, p. 198.

7. Ibn Qutaibah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 181.

8. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 145.

catastrophe. Apparently to shirk responsibility when recording Ibn al-Kalbī's view, Ibn Duraid voices some suspicions of the correctness of that view.<sup>1</sup> In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī records both stories without citing any source.<sup>2</sup> Al-Maqdisī attributes the name to a flood whose date he does not mention.<sup>3</sup> Mahi'ah is said to be another name of al-Juhfah.<sup>4</sup> A fourth name for this locality which occurs in a reliable early source is al-Juhūf, used by the poet Kuthayyir in one of his poems.<sup>5</sup> Kuthayyir believes that it was called al-Juhfah because torrential rain cut through its soil.<sup>6</sup> According to Waki', al-Juhfah has many wells, a cistern and a spring. Its citadel has two gates, and its market and houses are situated within the castle. The distances from al-Juhfah are twenty-four miles to Qudaid; twenty-three miles to al-Abwā'; six miles to the sea; four miles to Khumm; three miles to the local mosque of the Prophet at Khumm; one mile to the spring of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās; and finally twelve miles to (al-Mushallal). The scribe seems to have omitted the distance from Kulayyah to al-Mushallal. This can be deduced from the total distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid which does not tally with the sum total of the particular distances quoted in the work. Waki' also states that al-Juhfah is the *miqāt* of the Syrian pilgrims,<sup>7</sup> and that it is a dependency of Medina.<sup>8</sup>

Summing up, it can be safely said that al-Juhfah was the accepted name even before Islam, because the name

1. Ibn Duraid, *al-Jamharah*, vol. 2, p. 57.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 10.

3. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 100.

4. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1316.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 226.

7. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 51.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1257.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 40.

Mahya'ah or Mahi'ah is not to be found in the poems of pre-Islamic or even early Islamic poets, who are held to have been men of wide knowledge. What we find is only al-Juhfah or al-Jūhūf. Al-Jāhiz and Ibn Duraid, however, imply that Mahya'ah and al-Juhfah are two separate localities when they speak about the notorious fever of both.<sup>1</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī comments on Mahya'ah in two entries: under al-Juhfah he says that it is called Mahya'ah;<sup>2</sup> but records under Mahya'ah that it is said to be identified with al-Juhfah.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that he is in doubt. Yāqūt records that Mahya'ah is said to be identified with al-Juhfah or a place near it.<sup>4</sup> There is a village called Mahāyi', about which we read in the works of 'Arrām<sup>5</sup> and al-Muqaddasī.<sup>6</sup> This village is situated on the Sāyah valley north east of al-Juhfah. 'Arrām says that three valleys all situated between Mt. Shamanshir and Mt. Dhurah separate the pass of Hirshā in the north, from al-Juhfah in the south. There is Ghazāl, rich in wells and inhabited exclusively by the Khuzā'ah who live there in tents. Secondly, there is Daurān which has two well-known wells, Raḥbah and Sakūbah and belongs to the Khuzā'ah. The third is Kulayyah which equally belongs to them. As regards the pool of Khumm, 'Arrām situates it at one mile to the east of al-Juhfah.<sup>7</sup>

'Arrām seems to err when he places the valley Kulayyah between Hirshā and al-Juhfah, as al-Juhfah is situated between Hirshā in the north and Kulayyah in the south.

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1. Al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, vol. 4, p. 135 and Ibn Duraid, *Jamharah*, vol. 3, p. 114.

2. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 21.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 702.

5. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 69, 80.

7. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-13.

Al-‘Ajlānī, the poet, locates al-Juḥfah north of Sitārah which lies north of Kulayyah.<sup>1</sup> Al-Asadī correctly places Kulayyah at twelve miles south of al-Juḥfah.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb mentions a place called Maghbaṭ al-Juḥfah where al-Ḥārith, the Ghassānī king, defeated the Kinānah.<sup>3</sup> In al-Bakrī’s *Mu‘jam*, it has become Ma‘yaṭ near al-Juḥfah.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bakrī quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when he locates al-Juḥfah at the extreme limit of al-Jals.<sup>5</sup> When al-Bakrī places al-Juḥfah in al-Ghaur,<sup>6</sup> his source seems also to be Ibn al-Kalbī. Naṣr places Daurān between al-Juḥfah and Qudaīd in contradiction to ‘Arrām.<sup>7</sup>

Al-Juḥfah is still known in that area though its importance has dwindled owing to causes to be discussed elsewhere.

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 218.

3. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Mughṭālūn*, p. 234.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

7. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 70.

2. Al-Samḥūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 1295.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1246.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 9.



## KHAIBAR

Ibn Khurradadbeh mentions Khaibar as a dependency of Medina.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh also names it as one of the northern administrative districts of Medina.<sup>2</sup> This is the only significant statement he relates about it. Like al-Jāhīz, he quotes a proverbial saying in connection with its endemic fever.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh<sup>4</sup> and Qudāmah follow Ibn Khurradadbeh in describing it as a dependency of Medina.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī registers the distance from Khaibar to Medina as eight postal stages.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī concerns himself with the origins of the tribes settled at Khaibar. In one passage, he enumerates it among the Juhainī lands,<sup>7</sup> while he states in another that it is inhabited by the Sulaim alone, except for some nomadic Anṣār who often live with them, but also reside, on some occasions, with the Ṭay. In a third passage he says that it is inhabited by Jews, Mawālī and a variety of Arabs.<sup>8</sup> In another book he states that the 'Anazah live in Khaibar.<sup>9</sup> Al-Hamdānī registers two routes leading from Medina to Khaibar; one is straight and direct, whereas the other turns to the right after Ḥiṣn B. 'Uthmān.<sup>10</sup> Being

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

2. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 118, and see al-Jāhīz, *Ḥāyawān*, vol. 4, p. 135.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

5. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

6. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 258.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 131.

9. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, vol. 1, p. 304.

10. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 130.

a Yemenite himself, al-Hamdānī says that the Yemenite dates, al-Mudabbas, are not surpassed in excellence even by the Burdī (Barnī) dates of Khaibar.<sup>1</sup> He also says that its fever is notorious.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī represents Khaibar as a main town of Mecca,<sup>3</sup> a dependency of Medina and one of the only three towns in the Khaibar region, the other two being al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā'. He says about the latter that it is the port of Khaibar. Describing Khaibar itself, al-Muqaddasī says «Khaibar is a strong town as large as al-Marwah. It possesses a good Mosque. Here is the gate which the Prince of the Faithful lifted by main force.»<sup>4</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri says that Khaibar is a fortress abounding in palm groves and farms.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal has the same to say about it except that he refers to it by a masculine pronoun in place of the feminine form used by al-Iṣṭakhri.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Bakrī mentions Khaibar in his *Masālik* only when discussing the specialities of different parts of Arabia. On this occasion, he says that the whetstone (*ḥijārat al-masann* حجارة المسن) of which the floors of the baths of Mecca are made, is plentiful in the Khaibar region near Medina.<sup>7</sup> This statement, later, misled al-Idrīsī who assumed that Mt. Raḍwā was near Khaibar because Ibn Ḥauqal mentions that whetstone is found on that mountain. In his *Muʿjam*, al-Bakrī gives a very detailed description of Khaibar. First,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 69.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 83, see the English translation, p. 133.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 66.

8. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

he quotes 'Arrām when saying that Khaibar is a dependency of Medina. Then he quotes al-Asadi in counting Khaibar among the twelve settlements which form part of the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> In another place, he says that Khaibar is one of the Arabian قري عربية villages because it lies in the Arab land.<sup>2</sup> He regards it as originally inhabited by the Juhainah;<sup>3</sup> and assumes the distance between Khaibar and Medina as eight postal stages, equating it with three days' journey.<sup>4</sup> He places Numār, which al-Wāqidi and Yāqūt call Thibār,<sup>5</sup> at a distance of six miles from Khaibar.

Al-Bakrī lists the villages of Khaibar which he calls fortresses as follows:

Al-Dūmah, to the extreme south-west of Khaibar in the direction of Medina;

Al-Mirṭah, the market of Khaibar, which had been made the seat of the Khaibar province by 'Uthmān. It belongs to the descendants of 'Umar;

Wajdah with trees and palm groves which belong to the Prophet;

Sulālim belonging mainly to the Prophet;

Al-Waṭīḥ, a compound of Jewish fortresses, farms and properties in the mountain of Al-Ahyal, from whose products the Prophet's wives and some of his relatives received their shares;

Khaṣ, adjacent to al-Waṭīḥ, belongs entirely to the Prophet and is also called al-Katibah;

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 15, see *infra*, pp.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 521.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 916; and al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 708.

Al-Ṣahbā', of which he clearly says that it is at a distance of one postal stage from Khaibar;

Al-Qamūṣ, the strongest of them all, which was conquered by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. It has a mosque of the Prophet extravagantly built by 'Isā b. Mūsā (a governor of the Hijāz in the early Abbasid period);

Naṭāh, a valley containing Marḥab's fortress and his palace, which was then allotted to al-Zubair and whose main spring is called al-Luḥaiḥah;

Dār B. Qimmah, which was the first fortress conquered. Marḥab's brother, al-Yāsir has his palace there;

and, finally, al-Shaqq, a valley containing the spring called Ḥammah, whose water was miraculously divided at the Prophet's wish, a division which no effort, however hard, could change.<sup>1</sup> Though Wakī' seems to be the original source, al-Bakrī quotes al-Sakūnī on the whole list.

In another passage, he quotes 'Isā b. Dinār when saying that al-Kharrār is a spring in Khaibar.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq states that al-Zubair's share in Khaibar is called al-Khū' in Naṭāh,<sup>3</sup> not Marḥab's palace as in the above quoted passage.

In contrast to al-Bakrī, Yāqūt says that Khaibar has seven villages, which he also calls fortresses. Those are: Nā'im, al-Shaqq, al-Naṭāh, al-Sulālim, al-Waṭiḥ, al-Katibah and al-Qamūṣ.<sup>4</sup> The latter is called al-Ghamūd in another

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 523, and Wakī', *Manāzil*, fols. 74-75.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 492.

3. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 350.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 504.

place.<sup>1</sup> In other passages of his *Mu'jam*, Yāqūt names additional villages, some of which such as al-Khāṣṣ,<sup>2</sup> are mentioned by al-Bakrī who calls it Khalṣ, and Wakhdah,<sup>3</sup> which al-Bakrī calls Wajdah. Other villages such as al-Zihār<sup>4</sup> and al-ʿUzum, which, he says, is a dependency of Khaibar abounding in springs and fine groves of palm trees,<sup>5</sup> are not to be found in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*.

Yāqūt says that al-ʿIrḍ is the name of the Khaibar valley which is dominated by the ʿAnazah.<sup>6</sup> He quotes Abū Zaid when recording the statement found in the works of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal in praising the quality of the Baradī (Barnī) dates of Khaibar.<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt also quotes al-Sakūnī when assessing the distance between Khaibar and al-Jabalain at five nights' journey.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Idrisī enumerates Khaibar among the dependencies of Medina.<sup>9</sup> His description of it is full of confusions as he thinks that it is a small town resembling a fortress, with farms and groves of palm trees. He says that, in the early days of Islam, it used to be inhabited by B. Quraiẓah,<sup>10</sup> and according to another MS.<sup>11</sup> and a quotation found in Abū al-Fidā'<sup>12</sup> B. al-Naḍir. He adds that Khaibar was the home of al-Samau'al b. ʿĀdiyyā', who was famous for keeping his promises. Al-Idrisī locates Medina and Taimā' at an equal distance, i.e. four days' journey from Khaibar.

1. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 816.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 909.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 687.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 683.

9. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

11. MS. No. 2221, fol. 131.

12. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 89.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 399.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 581.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. 3 p. 644.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 123.

10. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

He states, besides, that Mt. Raḍwā is near Khaibar,<sup>1</sup> apparently because this was the only way to reconcile the contradictory statements of al-Bakrī, and Ibn Ḥauqal concerning the place of the main supply of whetstone.

Al-Idrisī may, in his turn, have misled a later geographer, Ibn Saʿīd, who says that Yanbuʿ is between Khaibar and Medina<sup>2</sup> because Mt. Raḍwā, which al-Idrisī locates near Khaibar, is seen from Yanbuʿ.

In the history of music, Khaibar is regarded by Ibn al-Kalbi as one of the six principal towns of Arabia where Arabian music developed. Those towns are also the main markets of Arabia.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb also regards Khaibar as one of the annual fairs of Arabia.<sup>4</sup> Al-Marzūqī indicates that the market used to be held at al-Naṭāh.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Wāqidi relates the importance of Khaibar among the Arabs even before Islam. When the Prophet decided to set out on his campaign against Khaibar, there was a widespread belief that Khaibar would be the real test as it was regarded as the richest part of the Hijaz in food and property. That belief was shared by Muslims<sup>6</sup> and polytheists<sup>7</sup> alike. It had enough permanent supply of water to enable its defenders to resist for a long time.<sup>8</sup> In al-Wāqidi's *Maghāzī*,

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1. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

2. Ibn Saʿīd, *Baṣṭ al-Arḍ*, fol. 43.

3. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, vol. 3, p. 197.

4. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 268.

5. Al-Marzūqī, *Al-Azminah wa al-Amkinah*, vol. 2, p. 165.

6. Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, p. 634.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 704.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 637.

the Khaṣṣ of Yāqūt and Khaṣ of al-Bakrī is called Ḥiyād.<sup>1</sup> There are a number of villages there which are not reported by either al-Bakrī or Yāqūt, such as al-Nizār,<sup>2</sup> al-Ṣaʿb<sup>3</sup> and Ubayy.<sup>4</sup>

Like al-Wāqidī, Ibn Ishāq<sup>5</sup> records the view of the polytheists that Khaibar was strong and important. Wakī<sup>6</sup> describes Khaibar as a dependency of Medina.<sup>6</sup> Naṣr states the same, and adds that it comprises plenty of farms and many fortresses. He locates it at several days' journey from Medina, and refers to its endemic fever.<sup>7</sup> In Naṣr's text, al-Bakrī's Wajdah, a village of Khaibar, has become Wakhdah.<sup>8</sup> al-Idrīsī enumerates Khaibar, which is a well-known region in the Northern Ḥijāz, among the famous localities of the fifth part of the third climate.<sup>9</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 641.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 648.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 658.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 667.

5. Ibn Ishāq, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 345.

6. Wakī, *Manāzil*, fol. 39.

7. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 59.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 150.

9. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

## KHULAIŞ

Khulaiş is described by al-Muqaddasi as a small town in the Hijaz,<sup>1</sup> adjoining Amaj, with a canal, a reservoir, palm trees, vegetable gardens and corn-fields,<sup>2</sup> and situated together with Amaj, one day's journey from both 'Usfān to the south and al-Khaim to the north.<sup>3</sup> This is one theory concerning its location. 'Arrām proffers another, mentioning a spring named after a certain 'Amri called Khulaiş. He locates it opposite to 'Ukāz in the region of Rukbah.<sup>4</sup> These two conflicting reports cannot be reconciled. Nor is it possible to identify either of them with what Shaikh Muḥlis alleges to be a village called Khulaiş found, at present, in Marr al-Ẓahrān.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear that each of the three localities is meant to be separate; for 'Arrām's Khulaiş lies in Rukbah which forms part of the western borders of Najd. Nor can the existence of the Khulaiş of al-Muqaddasī be denied. That of Shaikh Muḥlis, however, does not exist. His statement is the result of inadvertence, as there is no such place in Marr al-Ẓahrān. He might have been thinking of the Khalş spring there, but this is no excuse for overlooking Khulaiş itself. On the other hand, it is unlikely that 'Arrām would have located Khulaiş in the Rukbah while ignoring the Khulaiş of Tihā-

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

4. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

5. See al-Azraqī, *Akhbār*, vol. 1, p. 79 ff.



mah because it is certain that the latter was known in his time long before al-Muqaddasī located it. Wakīʿ, of the third century A.H., followed by al-Asadī, speaks of it,<sup>1</sup> and so does Ibn al-Athīr when recording events of that century.<sup>2</sup> Besides, there is no mention of the Rukbah's Khulaiṣ in the works of the geographers apart from al-Bakrī, in his *Muʿjam*.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī's MS. of 'Arrām's work was no doubt disordered in some places as will be seen elsewhere.

Al-Asadī states that Khulaiṣ lies just above eight miles south of Qudaid and two miles north of Amaj. According to him, there is a pass called the pass of Khulaiṣ three miles from the village of Khulaiṣ (the spring of Ibn Bazīʿ) and lies on the road to the latter. It is separated from Khulaiṣ by a lava field called Zāhirat al-Barakah which grows trees. A mosque of the Prophet is found at Khulaiṣ. Al-Asadī describes Khulaiṣ as a rich spring abounding in groves of palms with canals and a reservoir. Al-Bakrī, in his *Muʿjam*, borrows this statement of al-Asadī, but alters the distance from Qudaid to Khulaiṣ to seven miles. He adds that it used to be a thriving village rich in water, palms, fruit trees and canals before it was devastated by Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf. However, he records an emendation to the effect that it was reclaimed after the year 180 A.H. (796) which is an obvious miscalculation, as Ismāʿīl's rising in the Hijaz took place in 251 A.H. (865). Al-Bakrī's account of Khulaiṣ in his *Masālik*, is almost identical with that of al-Asadī,<sup>4</sup> except that he substitutes 'Ain abū Rabīʿ for 'Ain Ibn Bazīʿ, and uses *tharrah* ثرّ

1. Al-Samhūdī, *wafāʾ*, p. 1019, and Wakīʿ, *Manāzil*, fols. 51-52.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 7, p. 111.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 956, 960.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 75.

instead of *ghazīrah* غزيرة meaning «rich» in both cases. He records the distance from Qudaid to Khulaiṣ as eight miles instead of «just above eight miles» which al-Asadī has. As to the Khulaiṣ of Rukbah, al-Bakrī records the whole of 'Arrām's statement without mentioning a source or adding information.

Al-Asadī's source seems to be Waki' who identifies Khulaiṣ with the spring of Ibn Bazi', and locates it eight miles south of Qudaid, three miles south of the pass of Khulaiṣ, two miles south of the Prophet's mosque at that pass, two miles north of Amaj and fifteen miles north of 'Uṣfān. As for the lava field there, he calls it *Zāhirah*, the omission of al-Barakah is clearly due to a scribal mistake. The scribe is also to blame for the misreading of the reference to plants growing on that lava field. Waki' also mentions that the rich spring of Khulaiṣ had palm groves, fruit trees and many cisterns, and that Ismā'il b. Yūsuf had caused this spring to dry out.

Abū al-Fidā's account coincides with that of Waki' and al-Asadī in locating Khulaiṣ north of 'Uṣfān.<sup>1</sup> So does the account of al-Jazirī who has a first-hand knowledge of the whole coastal area between Mecca and Medina.<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt states that Khulaiṣ is a fortress between Mecca and Medina.<sup>3</sup> Khulaiṣ is not to be confused with Khalṣ Ārah which 'Arrām describes as a valley with villages, cultivated land and groves of palm trees. According to him, Khalṣ Ārah is adjacent to Mt. Dharah, his implication being that Khalṣ Ārah lies to the north of Mt. Dharah.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bakrī, however, defines

1. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 32.

2. Al-Jazirī, *Durar*, p. 451.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 467.

4. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-407.

Khalṣ Ārah as a village. His source is no other than 'Arrām's work though through its transmitter, al-Sakūnī.<sup>1</sup> Al-Wāqidi states that Khalṣ is a valley in the Ruwaithah region.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hajari's location is in line with that of al-Wāqidi, since he situates it near Mt. al-Ḥashā.<sup>3</sup> Naṣr gives substance to the claim that Khalṣ (Khalṣ) is the valley of Mt. Ba'al, a Ghifārī territory near 'Usfān.

The Khulaiṣ in question is a thriving settlement between Qudaid and 'Usfān.

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1052.

2. Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, p. 80.

3. Al-Hajari, *Mawādir*, part 2, fol. 149.

## DHŪ KHUSHUB

Dhū-Khushub is a halt on the pilgrim inland route between Medina and al-Marwah. It is not described in any geographical source as a dependency of Medina or even as a village. According to Ibn Khurradadbeh, it is situated between al-Suwaidā' to the north and Medina.<sup>1</sup> He states this when listing the way-stations on the inland route between Egypt and Medina, and also repeats it when referring to the Syrian route.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows him to the letter.<sup>3</sup> Since al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Suwaidā', he locates Dhū Khushub as the first stop to the south of al-Marwah.<sup>4</sup> Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadbeh with respect to locating this place, which he, however, calls Khushub omitting the article Dhū.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Bakrī refers to it as Naqā Dhū Khushub when listing the halts between Medina and Ailah in *al-Masālik*.<sup>6</sup> Al-Jazīrī, who quotes him, calls it Banā Khushub.<sup>7</sup> In *al-Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī does not distinguish between two places called Dhū Khushub which are both near Medina; one is situated to the east of Medina near al-Kulāb in the territory of B. 'Uqail,<sup>8</sup> while the other is the place in question. However, he relies

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

5. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

7. Al-Jazīrī, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

4. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 500.

for his description of the latter on poems referring to the former which results in confusion.<sup>1</sup> He even says that Dhū Khushub is adjacent to al-Kulāb at one day's journey on the Syrian pilgrim route,<sup>2</sup> though it is clear that al-Kulāb does not lie on that route. He states that there is a mosque at Dhū Khushub where the Prophet held prayers when setting out on the campaign against Tabūk.<sup>3</sup>

Wakī' is the only Arab geographer to mention a halt between al-Suwaidā' and Dhū Khushub, namely al-Arāk.<sup>4</sup> Lughdah describes Dhū Khushub as a valley with many springs, and situates it near Medina. Commenting on this location, Ḥamad al-Jāsir identifies Dhū Khushub with the region of al-Ghābah.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Hamdānī implies that the Dhū Khushub in question is different from the valley of Dhū Khushub in Najd,<sup>6</sup> whereas the former is in the territory of the Juhainah.<sup>7</sup> He speaks of the settlements of the people of Lot which are to the left of Mt. al-Sharāh and proceeds to say that Dhū Khushub and al-Ghamr are among them.<sup>8</sup> As he does not elaborate on this statement and Dhū Khushub is at quite a distance from there, it seems to be a question of a scribe's error. It is very likely, however, that he intended to include Dhū Khushub, not among the settlements of the people of Lot, but among the settlement of the Juhainah, which is partly accepted. Al-Idrīsī counts Dhū Khushub among the halts on the pilgrim inland route from Ailah to Medina.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 633.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1223.

5. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 406, 415.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

9. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

6. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

8. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 171.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

He locates it south of al-Suwaidā' and north of Medina. Naṣr describes Dhū Khushub (he calls it Khushub) as a valley near Medina comprising some houses, and assesses the distance between Khushub and Medina at one day's Journey.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Iṣfahānī, there was a spring at Dhū Khushub which once belonged to Marwān and was later given as an *igṭā'* by al-Saffāḥ to al-Ḥasan, a descendent of 'Alī.<sup>2</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī describes Dhū Khushub merely as a mountain.<sup>3</sup> Al-Wāqidī states that the distance between Buwāt, in the region of Dhū Khushub and Medina is three postal stages.<sup>4</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī describes this mountain as Juhainī territory in the region of Dhū Khushub, but gives the distance as eight postal stages.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 65.

2. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, p. 190.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 68.

4. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

5. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 235.

## AL-KILĀBAH

This is a way-station on the conventional inland route from Ailah to Medina. Ibn Khurradadhbeh mentions it on the only route he lists for that part of Arabia. He locates al-Kilābah between Shaghb to the south and an anonymous halt immediately to the north of al-Aghrā'.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh repeats this account literally when listing al-Kilābah on the inland route for the Egyptian pilgrim caravans via Medina;<sup>2</sup> so does Qudāmah who calls it al-Kulābah.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Kilābah, nor does he refer to the unnamed stop between it and al-Aghrā'. Instead, he cites Qālis immediately after al-Aghrā'.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore, impossible to ascertain whether he has either of them in mind when he speaks of Qālis.

Al-Muqaddasī, however, mentions both al-Aghrā' and the unnamed stop on one occasion, but omits the unnamed stop on another without a replacement, as al-Ya'qūbī does. Al-Muqaddasī not only changes al-Aghrā' into al-A'rā', but also changes al-Kilābah into al-Kilāyah throughout his book.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

5. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112.

Al-Idrisī calls it Ankilāyah and locates it north of Sha‘b (Shaghb) and south of an anonymous halt to the immediate north of al-Aghdā’ (al-A‘rā’).<sup>1</sup> Waki’ locates al-Kilābah south of al-Agharr north of which he locates Qālis, and north of Badā south of which he erroneously locates Shaghb.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

2. Waki’, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.



## KULAYYAH

‘Arrām mentions Kulayyah as a village with wells on the route between Medina and Mecca, adding that the name Kulayyah, given to the third and last valley between Hirshā in the north and al-Juḥfah in the south, derives from these wells. He states that the valley of Kulayyah begins in the east at Mts. Shamaṣīr and Dharah. In the upper reaches of the Kulayyah valley there are three small isolated mountains called Shanā’ik. The valley belongs to the Khuzā’ah.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī, without giving a source, records the same statement but substitutes Sanābik for Shanā’ik,<sup>2</sup> a distortion which cannot be attributed to a scribe’s error as al-Bakrī vocalizes it out very clearly in another passage.<sup>3</sup> According to Naṣr, who does not refer to a source, these mountains are called al-Shanā’ik.<sup>4</sup>

As to the location of Kulayyah, it is clear that ‘Arrām speaks about the valley, not the village, of Kulayyah when he places it between Hirshā and al-Juḥfah. There is a place called Khabt, not valley, of Kulayyah to the north east of Rābigh<sup>5</sup> which cannot be the locality meant by ‘Arrām, as the village and the valley of Kulayyah are no doubt south of al-Juḥfah. In his *Mu‘jam*, al-Bakrī follows ‘Arrām, in one passag,<sup>6</sup>

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1. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1352.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 578.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

5. Al-Qutbī, *Al-Barq al-Yamānī*, p. 212.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1134.

with respect to the situation of the Kulayyah valley north of Rābigh. In another passage, al-Bakrī describes Kulayyah as equidistant at twelve miles from al-Juhfah to the north and Qudaïd to the south.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī, however, implies, in a third passage, that Kulayyah is in Najd and quotes, in support of this statement, Kuthayyir who refers to Kulayyah together with al-Nibā'.<sup>2</sup> On the strength of the fact that al-Qattāl (who mentioned Kulayyah) was a native of Najd,<sup>3</sup> he gives his statement preference over the more authentic information contained in the poems of two Hijazis, Kuthayyir and al-'Arjī, whose location of al-Nibā' near Kulayyah is clear and whose poems he quotes without utilizing them to suggest, at least, that the Hijazi Kulayyah is more famous as it lies on the pilgrim route.

Al-Bakrī states that the distance between Kulayyah and al-Mushallal, which lies to its south, is nine miles only.<sup>4</sup> According to al-Asadī Kulayyah is the name of a salt-watered well in al-Qā', twelve miles from al-Juhfah, which is two cubits in diameter. He also mentions some shops in that area.<sup>5</sup> All al-Zamakhsharī has to say about Kulayyah is that it is a watering place.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī quotes al-'Ajlānī, a Hijazī poet, to the effect that Kulayyāt (Kulayyah) is to the north of Qudaïd and the south of al-Sitārah, which is situated south of al-Juhfah.<sup>7</sup> Unlike 'Arrām, al-Bakrī states, in another entry in his *Mu'jam*, that Kulayyah belongs, not to the Khuzā'ah, but to the Ḍamrah.<sup>8</sup> It is, however, not a great mistake, as it is a question of two related tribes

1. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 469.

5. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1295.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 218.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1292.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

6. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 141.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 956.

between whom there is no clear dividing line. Al-Iṣfahānī mentions Kulayyah as a village between Medina and Mecca where the poets Naṣīb and Kuthayyir used to reside.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike al-Bakrī, Yāqūt does not locate al-Nibā' as far as Najd but misplaces it, nevertheless, when he says that it lies between Yanbu' and Medina, quoting, in support of his location, a poem by Ibn Harmah which mentions al-Mushallal, a very famous place near Qudaid.<sup>2</sup> Naṣr thinks that Kulayyah is a valley in the Hijaz between Mecca and Medina and adds that it is also a locality in Najd on the pilgrim route from Baṣra to Mecca.<sup>3</sup>

Due to a scribal mistake, not only the name of Kulayyah is found misread as al-Mukallabah in Wakī's *Manāzil*, but also its description and the distance from there to al-Mushallal are omitted.<sup>4</sup>

Kulayyah, a rural community, is still known in that area south al-Juhfah.

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1. *Al-Aghānī*, vol. 1, p. 130.

3. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 130.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 737.

4. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 51.

### *AL-MA'DAN (OF B. SULAIM)*

The Ma'dan (mine) of B. Sulaim is one of the most famous gold mines in Arabia in general and in the Ḥijāz in particular. It is certain that it had been exploited by the ancient Arabs until some centuries after Islam; it afterwards remained derelict for a long time. It was by no means exhausted, and was reactivated during the second world war to alleviate the dire need for gold. Thus it must be assumed that this mine was neglected either for security reasons or through sheer ignorance on the part of the local people who succeeded the Sulaimīs, its previous owners. The Sulaim migrated from Arabia in numbers in consequence of the expansion of Islam.

When mapping the Iraqi pilgrim route, Ibn Khurradadbeh locates the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim twenty-four miles west of al-Rabadhah from which it is separated by the «evening meal» halt Shaurā, at twelve miles' distance, and twenty six miles east of al-Salilah from which it is separated by al-Kunābain, an «evening meal» halt at thirteen miles distance. Though he mentions the cisterns of the Ma'dan, Ibn Khurradadbeh is by no means appreciative of its water which is, according to him, the last thing to be looked for there. He quotes a poem advising the traveller not to linger in the place as even wild animals and birds are complaining there.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī places the Ma'dan west of al-'Umaq

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

and east of Ufai'iyah without recording the mileage.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows al-Ya'qūbī with respect to the location, but adds that it is situated nineteen miles from al-'Umaq and thirty-two miles from Ufai'iyah. As regards the Ma'dan itself, Ibn Rosteh describes it as a densely populated halt with wells and cisterns. He proceeds to say that it comprises ancient villages whose inhabitants are B. Sulaim.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah locates the Ma'dan nineteen miles west of al-Rabadhah and twenty-six miles east of al-'Umaq, and adds that it has wells and cisterns.<sup>3</sup>

Wakī' places the Ma'dan between al-'Umaq and al-Ufai'iyah. The distances from the Ma'dan are twenty-two miles to al-'Umaq; 102 to Medina; twenty-six and a half miles to al-Ufai'iyah; ten miles to al-Ṣafḥah; fourteen miles to the 46th postal stage; and two and a half miles to al-Rayyān, the old palace of al-Rashid. Describing the Ma'dan, Wakī' says that it has a palace and a mosque, a round cistern erected by Zubaidah, and many wells, old and new. Wakī' quotes 'Alī B. Muḥammad to the effect that gold used to be dug there, and even the soil of the Ma'dan was mixed with gold, but that its exploitation was abandoned due to the enormous cost involved. However, Ibn Abū Sa'd claims that as soon as the gold was produced, it was confiscated, so that its owners were deprived of it by the sheer force of B. Ḥuraish, B. Ja'dah and B. Qasr.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī identifies the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim with the Ma'dan of Buhrān in al-Fur'5 which cannot be acceptable as they are separated by a considerable distance. Probably

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 312.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

5. Al Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 244.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

4. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fols. 14-16.

he is misled by al-Wāqidi's location of Buhrān in the region of the B. Sulaim Ma'dan.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī places the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim at eight postal stages from Medina. His source seems to be Ibn Sa'd.<sup>2</sup> Al-Asadī assesses it at a hundred miles which is more acceptable.<sup>3</sup> Al-Hamdānī calls the region «Ḥarrah (lava fields) of B. Sulaim» and places it at twenty-two miles west of al-'Umaq and twenty-six miles east of al-Ufai'iyah, giving its latitude as 23°. 30'.<sup>4</sup> Al-Muqaddasī follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh literally in so far as the location of the Ma'dan and the mileage between it and both al-Rabadhah and al-Salilah are concerned.<sup>5</sup> The versions of the seven geographers who record the way-stations between al-Naqirah and Mecca on the route leading through the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim, with Medina on the right hand side, by no means coincide in their details. It may be useful to compare their data on the location of the places in the original order, but omitting al-Kunābain and Shaurārah which, being mere «evening meal» halts with no effect on the actual location, are mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh alone. Al-Hamdānī's account records the route from Mecca eastward, but rearranged to blend in with the others.

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1. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

2. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, vol. 2, p. 21.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1124.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 185.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

TABLE VI: Al-Naqirah-Mecca pilgrim route with the mileage

<u>Ibn Khurradadbeh</u>	<u>Wakī'</u>	<u>al-Ya'qūbī</u>
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
33	27	
Mughithat al-	Mughithat al-	Mughithat al-
Māwān	Māwān	Māwān
24	20	
al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah
24	23½	
Al-Ma'dan	al-Salilah	al-'Umaq
25	18	
al-Salilah	al-'Umaq	al-Ma'dan
21	22	
al-'Umaq	al-Ma'dan	Ufai'iyah
32	26½	
Ufai'iyah	Ufai'iyah	al-Mislah
34	26½	
al-Mislah	al-Mislah	al-Ghamrah
18	17	
al-Ghamrah	al-Ghamrah	Dhāt 'Irq
26	20	
Dhāt 'Irq	Dhāt 'Irq	Bustān Ibn 'Āmir
22	21	Mecca
	al-Bustān	
Bustān B. 'Āmir	(a lacuna. On the	
24	Baṣra-Mecca route:	

Mecca

Dhāt 'Irq

24

al-Bustān

28

Mecca )

<u>Ibn Rosteh</u>	<u>Qudāmah</u>	<u>al-Hamdāni</u>	<u>al-Muqaddasī</u>
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
34	27	20	33
Mughithat	Mughithat	al-Māwān	al-Mughithah
al-Māwān	al-Māwān		
23	24	26	24
al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah	al-Rabadhah
26	19	23	24
al-Salilah	al-Ma'dan	al-Salilah	al-Ma'dan
21	26	13	26
al-'Umaq	al-'Umaq	al-'Umaq	al-Salilah
19	32	22	21
al-Ma'dan	Ufai'iyah	al-Harrah	al-'Umaq
32	34	26	32
Ufai'iyah	al-Mislah	al-Ufai'iyah	al-Ufai'iyah
28	18	28	24
al-Mislah	al-Ghamrah	al-Mislah	al-Mislah
18	26	17	18
al-Ghamrah	Dhāt 'Irq	al-Ghamrah	al-Ghamrah
26		20	
Dhāt 'Irq	Bustān Ibn	Dhāt 'Irq	
	'Āmir		
22		24	
Bustān B.	Mecca	al-Bustān	
'Āmir			



24  
Mecca

29  
Mecca

As the table shows, the Ma'dan is unanimously located west of al-Rabadhah though it is not uniformly considered the immediate halt in the western direction. Three geographers situate it immediately west of al-Rabadhah. They are Ibn Khurradadbeh, al-Muqaddasi and Qudamah. Waki', al-Hamdani and Ibn Rosteh insert al-Salilah immediately west of al-Rabadhah followed by al-'Umaq then the Ma'dan. Al-Ya'qubi and Qudamah omit al-Salilah altogether, but differ with regard to al-'Umaq which al-Ya'qubi locates between al-Rabadhah and the Ma'dan, and Qudamah, as has been mentioned, immediately west of the Ma'dan. Ibn Khurradadbeh and al-Muqaddasi both locate al-Salilah immediately west of the Ma'dan followed by al-'Umaq. However, only those who locate both al-Salilah and al-'Umaq east of the Ma'dan are correct.

As to al-Hamdani, he states, in one passage, that the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim is a Najdi locality,<sup>1</sup> but includes it, in another, in the territories of Baliyy, thus implying that it is part of the Hijaz.<sup>2</sup> 'Arram<sup>3</sup> regards that region as Hijazi which is true. So does al-Bakri.<sup>4</sup> Al-Hamdani, however, quotes a poem recording the Najdi localities in which the two Ma'dans, that of B. Sulaim and that of Buhran, figure.<sup>5</sup> Terminologically, he records another name for the Ma'dan

1. Al-Hamdani, *Şifah*, p. 154.

3. 'Arram, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

5. Al-Hamdani, *Şifah*, p. 217.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4. Al-Bakri, *Mu'jam*, p. 12.

of B. Sulaim, Farān, which he ascribes to Farān b. Baliyy, the ancestor of a branch of Baliyy.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī goes a step further stating that Farrān (Farān) b. Baliyy comes from a Sulaimi branch but claims to belong to Baliyy.<sup>2</sup> It should however, be noted that there is another form of the name in existence, namely Qarān, a valley in that area. Yāqūt seems to prefer the form Farān, though he does not identify it with the Ma'dan.<sup>3</sup> He also mentions Qurān but locates it at Marr al-Zahrān near Mecca.<sup>4</sup> Neither form is used by 'Arrām who mentions the valley of Qaurān in that area.<sup>5</sup> As to Qarān, it is the correct name of a valley there, but it cannot be equated with the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim because Qarān is nearer to Buhrān than to the Ma'dan in question. Naṣr mentions Farān as a Sulaimi locality called the Ma'dan of Farān, but also records the opinion that it is identical with the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim. As to Qurrān, he locates it near al-Yamāmah<sup>6</sup> which suggests that he neither regards it as identical with Farān nor as applicable to the Ma'dan. Al-Hamdānī, who lists the places called Qurrān, situating them all far away from the Ma'dan region, seems to exclude, by implication, the use of the name Qurrān for any Sulaimi locality.<sup>7</sup>

'Arrām mentions a mountain called Dhul-Mauqi'ah which he calls «the mountain of the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim».<sup>8</sup> Al-Bakrī changes it to Dhul-Marqi'ah and calls it the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim.<sup>9</sup> Al-Hajarī describes the Ma'dan of Sulaim as a famous white mountain to the right hand

1. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 866.

5. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 264.

9. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 432.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 28.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 51.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 122.

8. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

(eastern) side of the Iraqī pilgrims returning from Mecca. It lies between al-Asyaq and al-Rayyān, on one morning's journey from al-Suwāriqiyyah.<sup>1</sup> All al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>3</sup> have to say about the Ma'dan is to mention it in connection with a shorter route from Iraq to Mecca. Ibn Ḥabīb calls the locality in question «the Gold Mine».<sup>4</sup> Naṣr is quoted by al-Samhūdī when locating al-Rabadhah between al-Salilah and al-ʿAqīq and explaining the latter by the ʿAqīq at Dhāt ʿIrq.<sup>5</sup> Al-ʿAqīq should read al-ʿUmaq as Naṣr has it<sup>6</sup> and as correctly quoted by Yāqūt.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 1, fols. 97, 172; part 2, fols. 14, 242.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

4. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 227.

5. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, p. 1091.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 72.

7. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam*, vol. 2, p. 749.

## MADYAN

The attention that Madyan has always attracted from the Arab geographers is due to the fact that it is mentioned in the Qur'ān in connection with the story of the prophet Shu'aib. Besides, it is mentioned in the Prophet's campaigns on the occasion when a party of Muslim troops was sent there and took some prisoners from Maqnā. This incident is often cited in juristic works not only because of its importance but also because the Prophet directed his troops not to separate the captive families when bartering them.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Madyan is an important halt on the routes that lead to the holy places of Islam in Arabia. Most of the geographers who refer to Madyan concern themselves with all or most of these facts.

Ibn Khurradadbeh mentions it as a dependency of Medina,<sup>2</sup> and a stop after Ḥaql and before al-Aghrā' on the route to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows him with regard to its relationship with Medina,<sup>4</sup> but has Sharaf al-Naml instead of Ḥaql when defining the location of Madyan.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī mentions Madyan as a halt on the route from Palestine to Mecca,<sup>6</sup> and an alternative route for the Syrian

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1. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *al-Sirah*, vol. 2, p. 159.

2. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

6. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 330.

caravans if they wish to mix with the Egyptians and the Maghribis whose caravans come through Madyan.<sup>1</sup> He adds that there are two routes leading from there: a coastal one to Mecca; its first stop is at 'Ainūnah,<sup>2</sup> and an inland one leading to Medina; its first stop is at Aghrā'.<sup>3</sup> He names neither Ḥaql nor Sharaf al-Naml as a halting place before Madyan, but has Sharaf al-Ba'1 instead.<sup>4</sup> He says that Madyan is a flourishing ancient town with numerous wells and permanently flowing springs whose water has a good taste. There are farms, gardens and groves of palm trees in Madyan. Its inhabitants are of heterogeneous origins.<sup>5</sup> Like Ibn Khurradadbeh, Qudāmah states that Madyan is a dependency of Medina;<sup>6</sup> he also accepts al-Ya'qūbi's spelling of Sharaf al-Ba'1.<sup>7</sup> He differs from all his predecessors in omitting the name of Madyan from his list of way-stations on the coastal route. Al-Hamdānī does not give any information about Madyan except that it lies on the border of the Judhāmī territories.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Muqaddasī take us a step further because they stress the importance of Madyan as a geographical factor. Al-Iṣṭakhri says that the northern borders of the Hijāz end near Madyan. He considers the territories north of Madyan as a part of the Syrian desert.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal says exactly the same.<sup>10</sup> About Madyan itself, al-Iṣṭakhri says that it is situated on the Red Sea opposite Tabūk which is smaller and is at six days' distance from it.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

9. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

6. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

8. Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 129.

10. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

There is the well from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'aib. He claims to have seen that well which was covered and upon which a house had been built. Its inhabitants took their water from a spring. He says that Madyan derives its name from the tribe of Shu'aib which bore it.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hauqal's statement is identical with al-Iṣṭakhri's except that he does not claim that he has seen the well.<sup>2</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri regards Madyan as a stopping place on the route of the Egyptians and Palestinians to Mecca and Medina. He states that there are two routes from Madyan to Mecca; a coastal route and an inland one which leads through Shaghb, Badā and Medina.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hauqal, not unexpectedly, says the same.<sup>4</sup>

According to al-Muqaddasī, Madyan «in reality is within the borders of the Hijāz; for the Arab peninsula includes all that is bordered by the sea and Madyan lies in this tract. Here may be seen the stone which Moses removed when he gave water to the flocks of Shu'aib. Water here is abundant. In this town the weights and measures and customs are those of Syria».<sup>5</sup> He believes that the province of Ailah includes Madyan and that it is Syrian rather than Hijāzi or Egyptian in appearance, because the weights, measures and customs of its people are those of Syria.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, he states that the centre of the third climate is «near Madyan, the city of Shu'aib on the side of Syria».<sup>7</sup> Al-Muqaddasī cites Madyan on the conventional route to Medina, but states immediately afterwards that the route in use in his

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1. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

3. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

5. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180, the English translation pp.293-294.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

2. Ibn Hauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

4. Ibn Hauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

time did not lead through Madyan.<sup>1</sup> He locates Madyan before A'ra' (Aghra') and after Sharaf al-Ba'1 in another passage.<sup>2</sup> The author of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* describes Madyan as a flourishing town on the sea coast. He also mentions the well from which Moses drew water for Shu'aib's sheep.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, provides no geographical information about Madyan, but enlarges on the story of Shu'aib and the ancient kings of that area. He also says that Madyan is the name of the tribe dwelling in al-Aikah and that Shu'aib is of that tribe.<sup>4</sup> He speaks of the lofty mountains between Ḍubā and Madyan where there is a cave to which Shu'aib used to bring his sheep. There are other caves which have served as dwellings, and graves which contain decaying bones as large as those of camels. Those dwelling places extend to about 20 cubits. They emit a disgusting smell which nobody can bear without protection. He also says that the Jews of Madyan possess a document from the Prophet written on a goat skin blackened in the course of centuries, though the writing is clear and said to be in the hand writing of either 'Alī or Mu'āwiyah.<sup>5</sup> He lists it among the way-stations, and locates it between 'Ainūnah and Ashrāf al-Ba'1.<sup>6</sup>

In his *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī adds that Madyan is a well-known *balad* in Syria, opposite to Gaza and is the dwelling place of the Judhām. He relies on Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Aḥwal in describing Madyan as a dependency of Medina.<sup>7</sup> He also

1. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

3. *Hudūd 'Ālam*, p. 148.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 77.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1201.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 112.

4. Al-Bakrī: *Masālik*, fol. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 77.

attributes to Ibn 'Abbās two conflicting reports in trying to locate al-Aikah. According to one report, it comprises the territories between Madyan and Shaghb and Badā; the other places it between Madyan and the coast and states that the tree prevalent there is the *daum* palm.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Quḍā'i is quoted as saying that Madyan is a dependency of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that Madyan had been regarded as a dependency of Egypt well before al-Quḍā'i, as it is related that a *qāḍi* of Egypt sought refuge in Faïd in 196 A.H. (812) taking his property from Madyan.<sup>3</sup> Had Madyan not been within the confines of Egypt, he would have felt safe there. This question will be discussed in another place.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Idrīsī locates Madyan in the fifth part of the third Climate.<sup>5</sup> He follows Ibn Khurradadbeh in describing Madyan as a dependency of Medina<sup>6</sup> and borrows Ibn Ḥauqal's words in referring to Madyan and its well and even in comparing it with Tabūk and in saying that it is on the sea coast. He adds a new item of information, relating that its inhabitants live in precarious conditions, drawing their livelihood from a stagnant trade. He places it on both the inland and the costal routes from Ailah to the Holy Cities.<sup>7</sup>

Yāqūt attributes to Abū Zaid a description of Madyan which coincides with that of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal. Yāqūt also quotes al-Ḥāzimi to the effect that Madyan lies between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria. Madyan was occasion-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

3. Al-Kindī, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

5. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 451.

4. *Sopra*, p. 25.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 36.



ally the residence of an Umayyad prince, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik who received his guests there; among them was Ibn Harmah, the poet, who has recorded this fact.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, it was not unusual in the Umayyad era to find influential people living in or near Madyan.

When mapping the Egyptian inland pilgrim route, Wakī' situates Madyan south of Sharaf al-Ba'1 and north of Qālis.<sup>2</sup> The author of *Ākām al-Murjān* describes Madyan as a city, and places it between the borders of Egypt and those of Syria. According to him, its latitude is 29°, and its longitude is 61°. For the information on religious matters, he seems to rely on al-Bakrī.<sup>3</sup> Al-Maqdisī refers to the flourishing trade of Madyan, previously a tribal metropolis. His reference to the way in which its merchants deal with counterfeit coins is somehow obscure.<sup>4</sup> The old town of Madyan is near the side of al-Bid'.

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 202, vol. 4, p. 451.

2. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. *Ākām al-Murjān*, p. 34.

4. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 76.

## MALAL

Ibn Khurradadhbeh describes Malal as the first way-station on the Mecca-bound route from Medina, at a distance of twelve miles from the latter. The first stop, nineteen miles after it, is al-Sayālah. Ibn Khurradadhbeh states that Malal possesses wells.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī says that its inhabitants are the Ja'āfir. He counts two stops, Dhul-Ḥulaifah and al-Ḥufairah between Medina and Malal, and names al-Sayālah as the immediate halt after Malal.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the distance between Malal and al-Sayālah and on the existence of wells there, but agrees with Ibn Rosteh in regarding al-Shajarah as the stop immediately after Medina. As to the distance between Malal and al-Shajarah, he also assesses it at twelve miles. The information about Malal's numerous wells of fresh water recurs in al-Idrīsī who assumes the distance between al-Sayālah and Malal to be seventeen miles and that between Malal and al-Shajarah twelve miles. He states that the latter is the point at which the pilgrims emerging from Medina have to start performing their pilgrimage rites.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī implies that the distance between Malal and al-Sayālah is seven miles<sup>4</sup> and that between Malal and Medina

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1258, see Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 46.

twenty-two miles.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions a place called al-Ḥufair (the Egyptian edition prefers the form al-Ḥufain,<sup>2</sup> in one place, and al-Jafir in another,<sup>3</sup> but the correct form is al-Ḥufair or al-Ḥufairah which is followed by the European edition). Al Bakrī himself varies the spelling of other names. A well with ten cisterns at three miles from Malal and which he correctly attributes, in one entry, to Abū Hishām,<sup>4</sup> is called in another entry the spring of Banū Hāshim,<sup>5</sup> A mountain situated on this region is called Ṣafar in one passage.<sup>6</sup> and Ḍafir in another.<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt in his *Muʿjam* calls it both Ṣaghar<sup>8</sup> and Ṣafar.<sup>9</sup> It is the latter which is to be regarded as the correct form. Al-Bakrī is doubtful whether to use Yain or Bain for a place which he describes as a village of Medina, and the residence of a notable Quraishī. Relying on a MS. of al-Bakrī's *Muʿjam*, Prof. al-Saqqā has وهو الذي يقال له غرير (= this Quraishī) but the European edition seems less erroneous in reading وهي التي يقال لها غرير (= the village).<sup>10</sup> It is clear from the author's own immediately following comment that what he has in mind is a place, as he says : they may be two places. غرير here is no doubt a corruption of مريين i.e. «the valley of Yain». Both al-Bakrī<sup>11</sup> and Yāqūt<sup>12</sup> quote Abū Ziyād when speaking of Turbān near Malal, but Yāqūt uses «Barthān»<sup>13</sup> in another entry. Yāqūt subjects Yain to the same treatment. In a passage which should read مريين «the valley of Yain», Yāqūt

1. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 878.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 400.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

13. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 547.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1258.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1258.

8. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 396.

10. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 297.

12. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 833.

says «مَرِّ بَيْنَ مَلَالٍ...»<sup>1</sup> Marr which is between Malal and ...<sup>1</sup> In another entry it is called Marrayain.<sup>2</sup> Another passage shows the correct spelling: Yain or Marr Yain.<sup>3</sup>

Speaking of a hill near Malal, al-Bakrī calls it 'Adhbah عذبة, in one entry,<sup>4</sup> and 'Udnah in another.<sup>5</sup> 'Abbūd which al-Bakrī correctly locates between al-Furaish and Malal is called by Yāqūt 'Abbūd<sup>6</sup> and 'Attūd.<sup>7</sup> Ghamīs al-Ḥamām which occurs in its correct spelling in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*<sup>8</sup> has become in Yāqūt: 'Amīs al-Ḥamām,<sup>9</sup> Ghamīs al-Ḥamām'im, Ṣukhairāt al-Ḥamām,<sup>10</sup> and Thumāmah.<sup>11</sup> However, he by no means excludes the proper spelling.<sup>12</sup>

Naṣr, who is usually very meticulous, is responsible for one of Yāqūt's mistakes about Yain.<sup>13</sup> As for Turbān,<sup>14</sup> al-Ḥufair,<sup>15</sup> Ghamīs al-Ḥamām<sup>16</sup> and Yain, in its entry,<sup>17</sup> Naṣr is correct. He describes Yain as a dependency of Medina at a distance of one postal stage from it.

As to Malal itself, Ibn al-Sikkīt states that it is a halt between Medina and Mecca, at a distance of twenty-eight miles from Medina. Ibn al-Kalbī tries to trace the derivation of the name Malal to the account in which the Tubba', gave the

1. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 329, see Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 57b.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 372.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 1046.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 926.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1358.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 306.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 612.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 957.

9. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 731.

10. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 875.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 329.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 816.

13. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 57b.

14. *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

15. *Ibid.*, fol. 57a.

16. *Ibid.*, fol. 57b.

17. *Ibid.*, fol. 30.

place that name because he was tired and bored<sup>1</sup> مل *mall*. Al-Bakrī, on the other hand, attributes to Kuthayyir the statement that people in general were tired when they reached that place, hence the name «Malal».<sup>2</sup> Describing Malal, al-Bakrī states that it lies on the left hand side of the travellers from Medina to Mecca on a diversion which is shorter than the conventional route. He relates that it has several public wells, which he attributes to the caliphs ‘Uthmān, Marwān, al-Mahdī, al-Makhlū‘ (= al-Amīn) and al-Wāthiq. Only one well is named after a tree; which is al-Sidrah.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Zamakhsharī relates that Ibn Udhainah, the poet, used to live in Turbān, which he locates on the pilgrim route between Malal and al-Sayālah.<sup>4</sup> ‘Iyāḍ situates Malal at a distance of eighteen miles from Medina, but quotes Ibn Waddāh’s assessment of that distance at twenty-two miles.<sup>5</sup> Al-Samhūdī attributes to Kuthayyir another etymological explanation of the name Malal deriving it from the boredom مل *felt* by its inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> The same derivation is attributed to Kuthayyir by Wakī‘ who also describes Malal as a place with numerous wells and cisterns. The distances from Malal are six miles to al-Ḥufair, seven miles to al-Sayālah and sixteen miles to Medina. It is obvious that al-Asadī, on whom al-Bakrī relies, has borrowed Wakī‘’s description of Malal.<sup>7</sup>

1. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 4, p. 637.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1258, see Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 46.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1258.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 26.

5. ‘Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 344.

6. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 1312.

7. Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 46.

## AL-MARR

Only three Arab geographers of the early period mention al-Marr as a stop between al-Marwah and Medina.

Ibn Khurradadbeh locates it between al-Marwah, to the north and al-Suwaidā' to the south.<sup>1</sup> So does Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Waki'.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī makes no mention of it in his *Masālik*. In al-*Mu'jam*, he speaks of it only when locating Balākith which, as he says, lies between al-Marr and al-Shabakah near Birmah above Khaibar on the Egyptian inland route to Medina. He also says that al-Shabakah is among the dependencies of Medina.<sup>4</sup> He does not quote a source, but a statement implying this piece of information is attributed in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, to Ibn Ḥabīb.<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt also states that al-Ḥazimī calls it al-Murr and locates it in the centre of Iḍam valley. According to some reports, Yāqūt says, it is the centre of that valley.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Idrīsī enumerates al-Marr among the way-stations on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He also locates it to the south of Dhul-Marwah and to the north of al-Suwaidā'. He calls it Marr.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 271.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 495.

3. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 711.

7. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

## MARR AL-ZAHRĀN

In his version of the conventional route from Medina to Mecca, Ibn Khurradadbeh locates Marr al-Zahrān, which he calls Baṭn Marr, and describes as having a spring and a cistern, at thirty-three miles from 'Uṣfān and sixteen miles from Mecca.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī's information is identical with Ibn Khurradadbeh's except for the distances which are omitted, and the addition that it is inhabited by B. Kinānah. According to him, Marr al-Zahrān is a dependency of Mecca and some of its springs and properties are in the hands of Meccans. Al Ya'qūbī calls it Marr al-Zahrān in two passages, and Baṭn Marr in another.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rosteh's location coincides with Ibn Khurradadbeh's, but the distance from 'Uṣfān to Marr al-Zahrān, which he calls Baṭn Marr, is calculated as thirty four miles, and that between Marr al-Zahrān and Mecca as fifteen miles, i.e. three miles from Marr al-Zahrān to the burial place of Maimūnah — the Prophet's wife who was buried at Sarif —, six more miles to the Mosque of 'Ā'ishah and then a further six miles to Mecca. As to the village itself, Ibn Rosteh describes it as very large and prosperous, densely inhabited, abounding in farms and palm groves and with a cistern which draws its water supply from a neighbouring mountain.<sup>3</sup> Qudāmah concurs with Ibn Khurradadbeh with respect to location, and with Ibn

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 313, 316, 341.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Rosteh on the distance from Maimūnah's burial place to Mecca, but assesses the distance from Marr al-Zahrān—he calls it Baṭn Marr—to Maimūnah's burial place at four miles, and to 'Uṣfān at sixteen miles. According to Qudāmah, Marr al-Zahrān is a village of considerable size, densely populated with farms, palm trees and a cistern of running water.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī records the story of the Khuzā'ah who, on leaving the Yemen, stayed at Marr when their cousins went farther north.<sup>2</sup> Al-Muqaddasī describes Marr as a point near Mecca where customs were collected from caravans.<sup>3</sup> According to him Marr is nearly equidistant from Mecca, Jiddah and 'Uṣfān as it is separated from each by one day's journey.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that all the above-mentioned geographers call it Baṭn Marr except, for one occasion, on which al-Ya'qūbī calls it Marr al-Zahrān. 'Arrām, venturing on an explanation, differentiates between Marr the village itself and al-Zahrān the valley.<sup>5</sup> So does Naṣr who probably relies on him.<sup>6</sup> According to 'Arrām, there are some «named» villages between 'Uṣfān and Marr one of which is called Masīḥah and another called Mudrasah (Madrakah), both large and rich in water and palm groves. As to Marr itself, he describes it as a valley possessing many springs and groves of palm and sycamore trees . 'Arrām points out that it is inhabited by the tribes of Aslam, Hudhail and Ghāḍirah. Naṣr's information about these tribes coincides with that of 'Arrām. Al-Hamdānī states that the surround-

1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

5. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 249.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 102.



ings of Mecca, among which is Marr al-Zahrān, are inhabited by Khuzā'ah and Quraish.<sup>1</sup> In one passage he locates Marr in the lower region of Mecca;<sup>2</sup> in another, he places it at thirteen miles from Mecca and twenty-three from 'Uṣfān, adding that its latitude is, 21°. 9'.<sup>3</sup> Al-Idrīsī's location and assessment of the distances are identical with that of Ibn Khurradadbeh. Al-Idrīsī also calls it Baṭn Marr. As to Baṭn Marr itself, al-Idrīsī says that it is the first way-station after Mecca in the direction of Medina. He mentions a spring surrounded by palm groves and some properties. He also mentions some minor palm groves to which some Arabs repair.<sup>4</sup> In another MS., the description runs as follows: «It is a way-station with a spring in a sandy valley surrounded by a few palms to which some Arabs repair».<sup>5</sup>

Wakī' fails to describe Baṭn Marr and limits himself here to its distances. They are twenty-three miles to 'Uṣfān, four to the well of al-Bihār, thirteen to Mecca, seven to Sarif, ten to al-Tan'im, twelve to the mosque of 'Ā'ishah and fourteen to Fakhkh which lies at two miles from the great mosque of Micca. Wakī' seems to assume that Mecca stretches three miles from the mosque in the direction of Medina, since he assesses the overall distance from Baṭn Marr to Mecca as thirteen miles which is three miles less than the sum of his details.<sup>6</sup> Mecca is unlikely to have stretched so far in the 9th century.

Al-Bakrī calculates the distance between 'Uṣfān and Marr as twenty-three miles, and that from Marr to Mecca as thir-

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 120.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

5. MS2221, fol. 63.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

4. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 34.

6. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 53.

teen miles.<sup>1</sup> In another passage, his calculation of the last-mentioned distance is sixteen miles.<sup>2</sup> He says that Rābigh is a place in Marr where<sup>3</sup> he also situates Majannah, at a distance of a few miles from Mecca.<sup>4</sup> Rābigh, however, is too far from Majannah to be located in the same valley. Rābigh is situated near al-Marād, not Marr.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī describes Baṭn Marr as the valley upon which the waters of the two Nakhlah abut.<sup>6</sup> He also borrows 'Arrām's statement about Marr al-Ẓahrān, but attributes it to al-Ṣakūnī, a transmitter of 'Arrām.<sup>7</sup> Al-Bakrī quotes Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib to the effect that Marr al-Ẓahrān was once the dwelling place of the 'Akk. He claims that Kuthayyir ascribes the name Marr to the bitter taste *murr* مر of its water;<sup>8</sup> and Abū Ghassān to two letters inscribed in the rock on a small hill there which resemble the letters in the word *marr*.<sup>9</sup> The first theory which is also recorded by Wakī' is untrue and the last is archaic.

Yāqūt<sup>10</sup> attributes to Abū Zaid the statement found in al-Iṣṭakhri's *Masālik*<sup>11</sup> to the effect that the valley of Sitārah lies between 'Uṣfān and Marr. The printed work of Ibn Ḥauqal does not contain this statement, but a MS. of his work does.<sup>12</sup> Ibn 'Abbās is quoted as saying that Marr is situated in the vicinity of Mecca.<sup>13</sup> Al-Aṣma'ī mentions

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 957.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1212.

3. *Ii d.*, p. 628.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1187.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1006.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1304.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 787.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1257, see Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 53.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1212.

10. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 27.

11. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

12. MS. III Ahmet 3012, p. 26.

13. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 943.

that the fair of Majannah used to take place during the ten days before pilgrimage day and maintains that Majannah lies in Marr, on one occasion,<sup>1</sup> and describes it as a mountain in the exclusive territories of B. Di'l in Tihāmah. Al-Wāqidi<sup>2</sup> and al-Asadi<sup>3</sup> locate Marr at five miles' distance and at seventeen respectively from Mecca. Al-Asadi adds that, in Marr, there is a mosque at the place where the Prophet once prayed; and a cistern, thirty cubits in length, mostly filled with rain water but sometimes by a spring called al-'Aqīq. Al-Asadi points out that this cistern is flanked by two wells. 'Iyāḍ believes that both Marr and Marr al-Zahrān are acceptable names for this locality, and places al-Zahrān itself at twelve miles' distance from Mecca. However, he records Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's assessment of this distance as twenty-one miles and the claim by others that it is sixteen miles only.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that only the last-mentioned assessment refers to the distance from Marr to Mecca, while the former refers to that from Marr to 'Uṣfān. 'Iyāḍ also quotes Ibn Waḍḍāḥ when saying that this locality is called Marazahrān by some.

Al-Sam'ānī states that there is a village called al-Zihran الزهران near Mecca which is not identical with either Marr al-Zahrān or Baṭn Marr,<sup>5</sup> a statement rejected by Yāqūt.<sup>6</sup> Al-Sam'ānī's Zihrān could be identified with al-Zāhir الزاهر which al-Zamakhsharī describes as the watering place nearest to Mecca on the route to Yanbu' (and Medina).<sup>7</sup> It is now known to be one of the fashionable quarters of the city.

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 421.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1020.

5. Al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, p. 377.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 169.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 494.

4. 'Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 289.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 582.

Al-Zamakhsharī also states that Baṭn Marr is the point at which the waters of the two valleys of Nakhlah converge.<sup>1</sup> He borrows al-Aṣmaʿī's description of Majannah.<sup>2</sup> Of Marr al-Ẓahrān, al-Zamakhsharī says that it lies in Tihāmah near ʿArafāt (ʿArafah).<sup>3</sup>

Marr al-Ẓahrān is now called Wādī Fāṭimah.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fāʾiq*, vol. 3, p. 113.

## DHUL-MAWAH

This is an important locality in the Northern Hijaz not only because of its paramountcy among the way-stations of the ancient trade route through Arabia to Syria, but also because it kept its importance in the early period of Islam and was used as a main halt on the pilgrim routes from Egypt and Syria. It is mentioned in the campaigns of the Prophet as dominated by a friendly tribe, Juhainah, who gave shelter to the Muslim scouts, <sup>1</sup> and who were given in recompense a large area as an *iqṭāʿ* from the Prophet. <sup>2</sup> It is recorded, however, that the Prophet prayed to Allah that He should restrain the Juhainis from vexing the pilgrims and vice versa.<sup>3</sup>

The Arab geographers of the early period gave attention to Dhul-Marwah. Ibn Khurradadhbeh describes it as a dependency of Medina,<sup>4</sup> and locates it between al-Ruḥaibah (al-Ruḥbah) to the north and al-Marr to the south when listing the stops of both the Egyptian and the Syrian caravans.<sup>5</sup> Al-Yāʿqūbī locates it on the inland route between Madyan and Medina, south of al-Suqyā and north of Dhū Khushub.<sup>6</sup> Ibn Rosteh says that it is

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1. Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-Asmāʿ*, p. 62.

2. Ḥamīdullah, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

3. Al-ʿAbbāsī, *ʿUmdah*, p. 359.

4. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

6. Al-Yāʿqūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

a dependency of Medina,<sup>1</sup> and places it between al-Ruḥbah and al-Marr on both the Syrian and the Egyptian routes to Medina.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah also says that it is one of the dependencies of Medina.<sup>3</sup> He locates it between al-Ruḥbah (al-Ruḥbah) and al-Suwaidā' when listing the way-stations on the inland route between Egypt and Mecca.<sup>4</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, says that the route from al-Marwah runs between al-'Iṣ and the sea at a distance of one night's journey from al-'Iṣ.<sup>5</sup> He seems to have in mind the ancient trade route between Mecca and Syria. In another passage he indicates that the distance between al-Marwah and Medina is three postal stages<sup>6</sup> which is unthinkable though al-Maqrizī concurs.<sup>7</sup> It may also be a scribe's error, as al-Bakrī assesses the distance at eight postal stages.<sup>8</sup>

Al Hamdānī says of al-Marwah that it is in the land of Juhainah.<sup>9</sup> He also says that two routes lead from Medina to Wādī al-Qurā, one of which passes al-Marwah. He assumes the distance between it and Medina as two days' journey with al-Suwaidā' as the only halt. He states that the palm groves of al-Marwah are in Uwāl. The inhabitants of al-Marwah are the B. Ja'far, Mawālī and a variety of people.<sup>10</sup> He also says that Balākith lies between al-Marwah and Shabakat al-Daum, a dependency of Medina.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his book he calls the place al-Marwah except

1. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

5. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 253.

7. Maqrizī, *Imatā' al-Asmā'*, p. 336.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1218.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

9. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 171.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

in one passage where he uses the form Dhul-Marwah.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri mentions al-Marwah in connection with al-ʿUshairah<sup>2</sup> and an Egyptian inland route to Medina.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal does not refer to it except when following al-Iṣṭakhri about the inland route.<sup>4</sup> Neither author does more than register its name giving al-Marwah only, and omitting Dhul.

Al-Muqaddasī says that Khaibar, al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā' are the only towns in the Khaibar region.<sup>5</sup> He describes al-Marwah as a principal town of Mecca,<sup>6</sup> and a dependency of Medina.<sup>7</sup> He uses the term al-Marwah without Dhū throughout his book, and locates al-Marwah to the south of al-Suqyā at a distance of one day's journey, and to the north of al-Ma'dan in one direction and al-Suwaidā' in another as equidistant from both at two days' journey.<sup>8</sup> In describing al-Marwah, al-Muqaddasī says that it is

«a strongly fortified town abounding in palm trees and excellent dates. A wide canal supplies it with drinking water. It is surrounded by a ditch and guarded by iron gates. It abounds in bdellium (— *chamoerops humilis*) مقل and an excellent variety of dates known as *Burdi* (*Barni*). The town is hot in summer. It is dominated by B. Ja'far».<sup>9</sup>

He mentions the *Burdi* (*Barni*) dates and the bdellium of al-Marwah again when speaking of the specialities of the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

9. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 83, English translation p. 133.

2. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

different parts of Arabia.<sup>1</sup> He says that between al-Marwah and Yanbu, there are gold mines<sup>2</sup> and «between al-Marwah and al-Ḥaurā', there was once a fire which blazed like burning coal.»<sup>3</sup> He is, however, by no means pleased with everything in the town which he describes as «the native country of libertines.»<sup>4</sup>

Al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, mentions al-Marwah as a place on the route between Medina and Ailah. He locates it north of al-Suwaidā' and south of Suqyā Yazīd.<sup>5</sup> In his *Mu'jam*, however, he locates it between Wādī al-Qurā and Dhū Khushub.<sup>6</sup> He says that it belongs to Medina and that it consists of several large villages.<sup>7</sup> As to its inhabitants, al-Bakrī says that the tribes of Juhainah, Ashja' and Muzainah lived there together.<sup>8</sup> In another passage, he describes it as Juhainī territory.<sup>9</sup> He quotes al-Ḥarbī when counting al-Marwah among the *Mashārif*, i.e. the Arabian settlements adjoining the fertile lands.<sup>10</sup> In the *Masālik* he calls it al-Marwah but Dhul-Marwah in al-*Mu'jam*. Waki' relies on Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ when listing al-Marwah among the dependencies of Medina. According to him, it belongs to the Juhainah.<sup>11</sup> Waki' locates al-Marwah south of 'Anāb and north of al-Marr.<sup>12</sup> According to Lughdah, Dhul-Marwah, which he locates between Dhū Khushub and Wādī al-Qurā in one passage, and between Bermah and 'Ain

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 33, English translation, p. 48.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1038.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1218.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1218.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 793.

11. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

12. *Ibid.*, fol. 114.



Maʿn in another, is a village of huge proportions on the route from Syria and Egypt to Medina and Mecca. Its inhabitants are of heterogeneous origin.<sup>1</sup>

All al-Idrisī has to say about al-Marwah is that it is a dependency of Medina to which he refers as Dhul Marwah,<sup>2</sup> and he mentions it on the inland route, locating it between al-Ruḥaibah and al-Marr,<sup>3</sup> calling it here Abū al-Marwah.

Al-Marwah enjoyed its importance until the Egyptian pilgrim route was finally diverted to the coast mainly because of the dangers besetting the pilgrims from the tribes of that region. Al-Marwah is now unknown, but Shaikh Hamad al-Jāsir thinks that it is identical with the ruins called Umm Zarb.<sup>4</sup> All the information derived from the early authors supports his conclusion.

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1. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 396, 414.

2. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

4. Hamad al-Jāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, p. 216.

## MUNKH ŪS

Al-Ya'qūbī is the first Arab geographer to record this name. He states that Munkhūs lies on the coastal route from Ailah to Mecca, and locates it south of al-Wajh and north of al-Ḥaurā'. Besides, he is the only geographer to hint at the conditions of life in this place, as he mentions the divers there who search the sea for pearls.<sup>1</sup> Qudāmah concurs with al-Ya'qūbī with respect to the location though he changes al-Ḥaurā' to al-Jarrah.<sup>2</sup> Al-Muqaddasī mentions it twice as situated on what was then the only used route. In his version, al-Ḥaurā' and al-Wajh are changed to al-Jarrah and al-Raḥbah respectively.<sup>3</sup> Wakī' locates it south of al-Wajh and north of al-Ḥaurā'.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Bakrī does not mention Munkhūs in his *Masālik*. Even in *al-Mu'jam* he refers to it only to locate al-Tajbār which is situated between «lower» al-Ḥaurā' and Munkhūs on the trade route from Mecca to Syria.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī's Tajbār is correctly called al-Nukhbār in al-Wāqidi's *Maghāzī*.<sup>6</sup>

Munkhūs is not known in the region nowadays. However, it is tempting to identify it with Mons Hippos of Ptolemy

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112.

4. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 657, 1168.

6. Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, p. 101.

not only because the sound of the name Munkhūs, which is not Arabic, is reminiscent of Mons Hippos, but also because there is a bay called after Ḥabbān south of al-Wajh. Sprenger, Musil, Burton and Hogarth locates Mons Hippos north of Ḍubā, but Forster identifies it with Mt. Ḥassāni on one occasion, and with Mt. Ḥanak south of Ḥabbān, on another. It is the latter location that seems to be correct.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Sprenger, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24; Musil, *The Northern Hegaz*, p. 312; Burton, *The Land of Midian*, vol. 2, p. 56; Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 182; and Forster, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 346 and vol. 2, p. 126.

## AL-NABK

Ibn Khurradadbeh does not mention the coastal route between Ailah and Medina, so that al-Nabk does not occur in his work. Al-Ya'qūbī refers to it, assuming that it lies between al-Şilā in the north, and al-Quṣaibah in the south.<sup>1</sup> His account cannot be accepted because al-Quṣaibah is actually situated to the north of al-Nabk.

Qudāmah places al-Nabk south of al-Şilā, and north of Ḍubā.<sup>2</sup> Al-Muqaddasī states that there are two places in that region called al-Nabk, one being the place in question and the other between Taimā' and Amman.<sup>3</sup> His account makes it very clear that al-Nabk is different from al-Şilā as he assesses the distance between the two localities at one day's journey.<sup>4</sup> He also locates al-Nabk which, according to him, is one of the towns of Qurḥ, between al-Şilā and Ḍubā, which he calls Ḍabbah.<sup>5</sup> Waki' also locates it between al-Şilā and Ḍubā.<sup>6</sup>

Umayyah b. al-Şalt is quoted as saying that al-Nabk lies between Ḍubā, which he calls Ṭanah, and the land of Madyan, and forms part of the eastern region of Egypt.<sup>7</sup> Al-Bakrī makes no mention of al-Nabk in his *Mu'jam*, but

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 253.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 548.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

6. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

places it in *al-Masālik* on the route between Ailah and Medina. He differs from other Arab geographers not only in listing it among the way-stations of the inland route, but also in identifying it with the stopping place called al-Şilā.<sup>1</sup>

Later, as stated by al-Jaziri,<sup>2</sup> the name al-Nabk was changed to al-Muwailih which appears on the maps of the Northern Hijaz. Unfortunately, Musil had not seen al-Jaziri's book. Otherwise, his location of al-Nabk would have been less erroneous.

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

2. Al-Jaziri, *op. cit.*, p. 450, see Musil, *the Northern Hegāz*, p. 71.

## NAKHLAH (THE BUSTĀN OF IBN ʿĀMIR)

Al-Yaʿqūbī lists Nakhlah among the dependencies of Mecca.<sup>1</sup> Defining Nakhlah, al-Masʿūdī says that it is identical with the Bustān of Ibn ʿĀmir on the Iraqi pilgrim route,<sup>2</sup> and al-Wāqidī believes that Nakhlah is the valley of Ibn ʿĀmir's Bustān.<sup>3</sup> Al-Hamdānī states that Nakhlah used to be inhabited by the Hudhail who were subsequently driven out by B. Saʿd with the help of ʿUjj b. Shākh, the governor of Mecca in the early 10th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> He records a poem by a Hijazi poet, al-ʿAjlānī, which lists Nakhlah, together with al-Zaimah, among the Hijazi localities.<sup>5</sup> Al-Hamdānī also enumerates Nakhlah among the places where heathen idols were worshipped.<sup>6</sup> He attributes to Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib the information that Nakhlah is adjacent to al-Sarāh, the mountain range, in the place where Mts. Khais and Yasūm mountains rise.<sup>7</sup> He is followed by al-Bakrī with respect to this quotation.<sup>8</sup>

Nakhlah is the name of two adjacent localities near Mecca, one called, Nakhlah al-Yamāniyyah (the southern), and the other Nakhlah al-Shāmiyyah (the Northern). Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī states that Nakhlah is a Hijazi valley at two nights' distance from Mecca, and equates the Nakhlah

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1. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, p. 316.

3. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

2. Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 236.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 173.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 8.

where pilgrims from the Yemen, Najd, Oman, Bahrain, Hajar and Yabrīn meet, with al-Yamāniyyah. They meet at al-Wabā'ah (Buhaitā') which is the topmost peak of this valley. The other Nakhlah is called al-Shāmiyyah and is identical, in his opinion, with Dhāt 'Irq on the pilgrim route from Basra and Kufa. The upper reaches of its valley belong to B. Sa'd b. Bakr to whom the Prophet was entrusted in his childhood. It abounds in groves of palm trees. Its lower reaches are called the Bustān of Ibn 'Amir.<sup>1</sup> Al-Sukkārī describes the two Nakhlahs as flanking Ibn 'Amir's Bustān.<sup>2</sup> According to Yāqūt, al-Sakūnī describes Nakhlah as a halt, equidistant from Wajrah and Ibn 'Amir's Bustān at one day's journey from either, which cannot be accepted.<sup>3</sup> When, in another passage, Yāqūt records this quotation, he makes no mention of Nakhlah which indicates that it is identical with the Bustān.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bakrī states that the expression «Baṭn Nakhlah» refers to the Nakhlah in question and quotes Ibn Wallād who differentiates between the two Nakhlahs, al-Shāmiyyah, upon which the waters of al-Ghumair abut; and al-Yamāniyyah, into which the waters of Qarn al-Manāzil flow. When the waters of the two Nakhlahs mix at al-Masadd, they form the valley of Baṭn Marr.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī speaks of a battle between the Hudhail and B. Laith which took place at Nakhlah.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī lists Baṭn Nakhlah among the watering places on the pilgrim route.<sup>7</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī describes the two Nakhlahs as two Hudhaili valleys on the route to Mecca at two nights' distance from it.<sup>8</sup> He seems to rely on the above-mentioned

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 768.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 906.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1304.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 143.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 770.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 550.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1186.

8. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 148.

statement of Abū Ziyād when he mentions Qarn al-Manāzil and al-ʿUmair (al-Ghumair).<sup>1</sup> In another passage, he states that the two Nakhlahs - which are valleys - converge at Ibn ʿĀmir's Bustān. In a third passage, al-Zamakhsharī says that the point they meet at is Baṭn Marr.<sup>2</sup> Al-Masʿūdī says that the idol al-ʿUzzā was erected at Nakhlah al-Yamāniyyah,<sup>3</sup> but al-Tibrizī speaks in this connection of a Nakhlah near Medina.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ḥamdānī calls this idol al-Lāt.<sup>5</sup> The correct account is that of al-Masʿūdī. Wakiʿ locates Nakhlah before Dhāt ʿIrq on the pilgrim route from Basra,<sup>6</sup> which is incorrect, and contradicts another reference he makes when enumerating the halts on this route.<sup>7</sup> In another passage, he equates it with the Bustān.<sup>8</sup> This Bustān is ascribed by Wakiʿ to B. ʿĀmir,<sup>9</sup> but one of his poets ascribes it to ʿUmar<sup>10</sup> (Ibn Maʿmar). The description of the Bustān is missing from the account of Wakiʿ, but<sup>11</sup> the distance from there to Mecca is mentioned on another occasion.<sup>12</sup>

In the period under consideration, Ibn ʿĀmir's Bustān was even more famous than its valley, Nakhlah, mainly because it was the halting place of the Iraqi pilgrims, but also due to its connection with Ibn ʿĀmir, who was born in the Prophet's time and rose to meteoric fame under ʿUthmān who appointed him governor of Basra and the East. He spent his immense wealth on irrigation and founded several settlements around his springs. Among his most

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

3. Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 266.

5. Al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 143.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 98.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 54.

11. *Ibid.*, fol. 58.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. Al-Tibrizī, *Ḥamāsah*, p. 612.

6. Wakiʿ, *Manāzil*, fol. 102.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 113.

10. *Ibid.*, fol. 110.

12. *Ibid.*, fol. 98.



famous settlements were al-Nibāj, in al-Qaṣīm; the Bustān of Nakhlah; the Bustān near 'Arafah; and the Bustān of al-Juhfah. It appears from his choice of places that his concern was mainly with providing fresh water for the pilgrims, but it cannot be excluded that he had the secondary idea of putting the land to agricultural use as there were descendants of his at Basra and at al-Nibāj some hundred years later,<sup>1</sup> and part at least of his property at al-Juhfah was sold by his sons to Caliph al-Walid I.<sup>2</sup> He was so popular among the people of the Hijaz and even among the caliphs that one of them, Mu'āwiyah, a caliph known for his impassivity, asked Ibn 'Āmir, in the latter's old age, to marry the caliph's beautiful and influential young daughter.<sup>3</sup> A poet related to her expresses his despair as his wait for Ibn 'Āmir's death after which the young princess would be free to marry him seemed to be long.<sup>4</sup> Apparently Ibn 'Āmir was sure of his own longevity and thus the princess did not have to wait for his death; he sent her back to her father on the ground that she was too rich to need his money and he was too old to give her enjoyable company.<sup>5</sup> This story is more accurate than another story given by al-Bakrī about Ibn 'Āmir being lured to divorce a wife of his after Mu'āwiyah hinted that he might marry the caliph's daughter.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī are quoted by al-Balādhuri when saying that al-Bustān belonged, not to Ibn 'Āmir, but to Ibn Ma'mar and that only the ignorant allowed themselves to ascribe it to Ibn 'Āmir.<sup>6</sup> Thus the argument

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 736.

3. Al-Zubairī, *Nasab*, p. 149.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Faṣl*, p. 233.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 492.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Simt*, p. 513.

6. Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 59.

about the identity of the owner of the Bustān at Nakhlah was sparked off. So effective was this criticism that even Ibn Qutaibah listed among his cardinal rules that the authors should not attribute it to Ibn 'Āmir, but to Ibn Ma'mar. Contrary to his wont, al-Baṭalyūsī, the commentator of Ibn Qutaibah's *Adab al-Kuttāb*, does not argue on this point. Indeed he goes so far as to mention that there are two places called Bustān, one in Nakhlah and the other near al-Juhfah. Of the two, only the latter can be attributed to Ibn 'Āmir, while the former must be ascribed to Ibn Ma'mar. He does not deny, however, that Ibn 'Āmir won legitimate fame by his successful irrigation projects.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī,<sup>2</sup> Naṣr<sup>3</sup> and Yāqūt<sup>4</sup> all stress this claim, though ironically none of them dare call it Bustān Ibn Ma'mar except on the authority of al-aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī. Even so, they attribute it to Ibn Ma'mar only once or twice. Instead, they seem to defy these two scholars on almost every occasion. Yāqūt seems suspicious of the accuracy of Ibn al-A'rābī's and al-Aṣma'ī's statement, since he refers the reader under Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān to the entry on Ibn Ma'mar's Bustān.<sup>5</sup> In the latter's entry he states that it is wrong to call it «Ibn 'Āmir's», a mistake he himself already has committed if his judgement were true. Al-Zamakhsharī ascribes it, in one passage, to Ibn 'Āmir<sup>6</sup> and to Ibn Ma'mar in another, without accounting for the contradiction. Indeed, he uses both names in a single passage.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the hesitation of these authors, little attention has been paid to al-Aṣma'ī or Ibn al-A'rābī in this regard. All Arab geographers

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1. Al-Baṭalyūsī, *Iqtidāb*, p. 226.

3. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 24.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 527.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *ḡibāl*, p. 89.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1186.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 527.

6. Al-Zamakhsharī, *ḡibāl*, p. 13.

attribute it to Ibn 'Āmir or Banū 'Āmir. Besides, al-Zubairi states very clearly that al-Juḥfah «belonged» to Ibn 'Āmir who also «owned» Ibn 'Āmer's Bustan of Nakhlah at one day's journey from Mecca.<sup>1</sup> Most acceptable and likely are the accounts of the geographers, some of whom are officials, and that of al-Zubairi who is well informed about people and places in the Hijaz.

As to the Bustān itself, Ibn Khurradadbeh locates it at a distance of twenty-two miles from Dhāt 'Irq with the Ghamr of Dhū Kindah half way between both. He assesses the distance between the Bustān and Mecca at twenty-four miles, adding that water is abundant at the Bustān.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī gives the same location, but places Dhāt 'Irq between Ghamrah and the Bustān.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadbeh with respect to the location and mileage, but adds that the Bustān is densely populated and that it gets its water through a canal.<sup>4</sup> All three attribute it to Banū 'Āmir. Qudāmah attributes it to Ibn 'Āmir, and implies that it is the meeting point of Yemenite pilgrims coming from al-Futuq; and Iraqi and Najdi pilgrims coming from Dhāt 'Irq.<sup>5</sup> Al-Muqaddasī situates it half-way between Mecca and Dhāt 'Irq at one day's journey from either.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī states that the distance between the Bustān and Mecca is twenty-nine miles, and between the Bustān and Dhāt 'Irq twenty-four miles. He gives its degree of latitude as 21°.15'. According to him, its name is al-Bustān.<sup>7</sup>

1. Al-Zubairi, *Nasab*, p. 148.

2. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 147.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 312.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

5. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 192.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 185.

He mentions another *bustān* = fruit gardens, which he attributes to Ibn 'Ubaid Allāh al-Hāshimī and situates it at al-Zaimah. In the reign of al-Muqtadir in the early 10th century this *bustān* was a very thriving estate, producing a revenue of 5000 «*mithqāl dinārs*.» It had a fortified palace garrisoned by B. Sa'd. Its palms numbered thousands and its rich spring gushed from the valley of Nakhlah, flowed across the farm and formed a large pool. It was planted with banana and henna trees, and several sorts of vegetables.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hamdānī mentions a milestone which had been erected at Sabūḥah near al-Zaimah. He gives the latitude of al-Zaimah as 21°.6',<sup>2</sup> which indicates that he does not identify al-Zaimah and the *bustān* of al-Hāshimī with the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir. Another indication of this is his use of al-Zaimah for Yemenite pilgrims and the Bustān for Iraqi pilgrims.

Both al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>3</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>4</sup> speak of the *ḥā'iṭ* = *bustān* of Ibn 'Āmir which they situate at 'Arafah. Ibn Ḥauqal says: «The Ḥā'iṭ of Banū 'Āmir has palm trees and there are palms also west of 'Arafah». Al-Iṣṭakhri says: «The Ḥā'iṭ of Banū 'Āmir are palms at 'Arafah». What they have in mind is clearly the Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān near 'Arafah. Abū al-Fidā' describes this Ḥā'iṭ as one of the borders of 'Arafah and locates it near the great local mosque.<sup>5</sup> He also ascribes it to Ibn 'Āmir. His source seems to be al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>6</sup> This Ḥā'iṭ had fallen into oblivion by the time of Ibn Ḍuhairah of the 16th century,<sup>7</sup> but the matter

1. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

3. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

5. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 78.

7. Ibn Ḍuhairah, *al-Jāmi'*, p. 346.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

6. Al-Fāsi, *Shifā'*, vol. 1, p. 301.

of-fact style of al-Azraqī (9th century) admits no doubt of its existence as he locates it near al-Ḍahāḍīḥ where Ibn 'Āmir carved a public road through a hill.<sup>1</sup> According to an account recorded by al-Fāsī, it was more than two Ḥā'iṭs.<sup>2</sup> In later years this Ḥā'iṭ was also known as the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir. Ibn al-Athīr describes how the pilgrims fled to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān when fighting broke out between the troops and the governor of Mecca at Minā in 295 A.H. (908 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to imagine pilgrims having to seek refuge in so remote a place as Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah. A more probable alternative is that of 'Ārafah where they could have waited until the fight had died down and then gone back to complete their pilgrimage rites.

'Arrām's statement about Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān needs detailed consideration. It runs as follows:

« ثم تخرج منه في (بحرين) ثم تؤم مكة منحدرًا من ثنية يقال لها (الحفجف) وبنجد في حد مكة واد يقال له (وادي تربة) بنصب إلى بستان (ابن عامر) واسفل تربة لبني هلال وحواليه من الجبال (الشراة) و (يسوم) و (قرقد) و (معدن البرام) وجبلان يقال لهما (شوانان) واحدهما شوان ...

والطريق من بستان ابن عامر إلى مكة على (قفل) وقفل الثنية التي تطلعك على قرن المنازل حيال الطائف. ومن جبال مكة (أبو قبيس) ومنها (الصفاء) و (الجبل الأحمر) وجبل أسود مرتفع يقال له (الهلاء) يقطع منه الحجارة للبناء والارحاء و (المروة) جبل إلى الحمرة ماهو و (ثبير) جبل شامخ يقابله حراء .. وليس في شيء منها ماء. ثم جبال عرفات تتصل بها جبال الطائف وفيها مياه كثيرة اوشال وكظائم فقر منها (المشاش) وهو الذي يخرج بعرفات ويتصل إلى مكة «ومن قعيقعان إلى مكة» اثنا عشر ميلا على طريق الخوف إلى اليمن و (قعيقعان) قرية بها مياه وزوع ونخيل وفواكه وهي اليمانية .

1. Al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār*, vol. 2, p. 236.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 9.

Then (after what appears to be Marr al-Zahrān) you descend to B.h.r.n. (or Kh.r.i.n.), then you proceed to descend to Mecca from a hill called al-Jafjaf. And in Najd on the border of Mecca there lies a valley (this is the reading suggested by Shaikh Ḥ. al-Jāsir. According to Yāqūt, however, 'Arrām says: 'And you descend to the borders of Mecca through a valley') called the valley of Turabah whose waters abut upon the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir. The lower region of Turabah belongs to B. Hilāl. Around it stand Mts. al-Sarāh, Yasūm and Qirqid, and also the Birām mine and the two mountains of Shuwān. ... The route from Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān passes through Qafal, a hill from which you ascend to the Qarn of al-Manāzil near Taif. (al Bakri records it as: *ثم جبال الطائف* and then the mountains of Taif.) And among the mountains of Mecca there are Abū Qubais, al-Ṣafā, the Red Mountain, al-Hailā', al-Marwah and Thabīr which faces Mt. Ḥirā'. None has water. Then the mountains of 'Arafāt ('Arafah) join that of Taif which have plenty of water running through canals, one of which is al-Mushāsh which gushes from 'Arafāt and flows into Mecca. And from Qu'aiqi'ān to Mecca (an addition borrowed by the editor from Yāqūt) the distance is twelve miles on the Ḥauf (Jauf in Yāqūt) route from the Yemen. Qu'aiqi'ān is a village with water, palms, corn-fields and fruit. It is al-Yamāniyyah.»<sup>1</sup>

The unusual step of recording the whole statement in Arabic has been taken because its main feature seems to be confusion. It is exceedingly difficult to pinpoint all the errors, some at least of which go back to a pre-eleventh century

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1. 'Arrām, *Jibāl*, pp. 415-19.

MS. With the passage of time, the MSS have become laden with what their copyists and readers think to be corrections. There is good reason to assume that some mis-statements are due to a misplacement of some folios. How else could it have happened that 'Arrām, speaking of Marr al-Zahrān in Tihāmah, suddenly shifts to Turabah in the Hijaz, or even in Najd according to some authors, and also suddenly goes back to Tihāmah? Al-Bakrī quotes a passage from 'Arrām's work in which Qarn al-Manāzil is followed by the mountains of Taif which are followed by the mountains of 'Arafah;<sup>1</sup> an indication that the description of the mountains of Mecca has been misplaced in the available MS. of 'Arrām's text. Al-Bakrī himself seems to be sceptical about the beginning of the statement. Therefore he simply says: «Then after Marr al-Zahrān you descend in the direction of Mecca where you encounter a hill called the valley of Turabah whose water flows into Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān. The lower region of Turabah belongs to B. Hilāl.» This correction is no less archaic than the mistake it tries to rectify. Moreover, the correction made by 'Arrām's editor on the authority of Shaikh Ḥ. al-Jāsir cannot be accepted, because the waters of the Turabah valley flow eastward and not westward. Besides, there is the huge mountain range of al-Sarāh which divides Turabah from Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān. Nor can Yāqūt's version be accepted. Moreover, the traveller from Marr al-Zahrān does not descend into Mecca. Indeed he ascends almost constantly as Marr al-Zahrān is in the lower region of Mecca.

'Arrām, being a native of the area, could hardly have been responsible for the error contained in the statement by

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 787.

locating Qu'aiqī'ān at a distance of twelve miles from Mecca in the very middle of which it actually stands. Nor can the description of Qu'aiqī'ān as a village with water, palms, cornfields and «Yemenite fruit», be taken at its face value. The editor attributes to Yāqūt the claim that «Yamāniyyah» is a description of the fruit, but in fact it simply refers to Nakhlah al-Yamāniyyah the description of which has no doubt been lost. Al-Bakrī locates Ḥunain at a distance of twelve miles from Mecca in his *Masālik*,<sup>1</sup> but at twelve to fifteen miles from Mecca in *al-Mu'jam* where he adds that it has water. He refers to it as the valley of Taif,<sup>2</sup> which he inadvertently confuses with Wajj, the famous valley of Taif. Could Qu'aiqī'ān be a misplacement of Ḥunain?

Similarly, the valley whose water flows into Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān is not Turabah, but is actually called Sabūḥah which was known to many authors of that time, including al-Hamdānī, al-Zamakhsharī,<sup>3</sup> Naṣr<sup>4</sup> and Yāqūt.<sup>5</sup> Even al-Bakrī mentions it, though he substitutes al-Yaman for al-Yamāniyyah.<sup>6</sup> The mountains which 'Ārrām has allegedly grouped around Turabah are in fact not to be found there. They are found around Nakhlah as stated by al-Hamdānī, al-Bakrī and Yāqūt. The passage about Turabah may well have been shifted from its original place among the Hijazi localities because another place name has been corrupted to Turabah.

Yāqūt attributes to 'Ārrām information not found in the latter's text about Turabah's being at two days' distance

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 74.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Ḥibāl*, p. 83.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 35.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 471, 1370.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 146.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 720.



from Mecca.<sup>1</sup> This cannot be accepted because 'Arrām is unlikely to have recorded so short a distance. The suggestion that 'Arrām's Turabah is a Turabah of Tihāmāh different from its famous Hijazi namesake is equally unacceptable, because 'Arrām mentions its inhabitants, B. Hilāl, who cannot have lived except in the Hijaz. The inhabitants of the area around the Bustān long before 'Arrām's time, the early 9th century, down to the present day, have always belonged to the Hudhail tribe, except for a short time after 'Arrām when the B. Sa'd and B. Laith dominated it. Unless a new source or MS. appears, there can be no absolute and final say as to how 'Arrām dictated the above-mentioned statement. What alone is certain is that this statement, in its present shape, could not have emanated from 'Arrām himself. There are some possibilities suggested by parts of this statement which should be taken separately because it would be futile in the extreme to attempt rearranging it as a whole. Some sentences admit of more than one attempt at correction, all of which are mutually exclusive. It is not the fault of the editor that so confused a text has been handed down. Be this as it may, it is an advantage to have 'Arrām's work, whatever its state.

The first problem presented by the statement is how to read B.h.r.n. or Kh.r.i.n. If we accept that this sentence still occupies its original place in the text, then the best choice is خيرتين Khairatain, namely those two mountains which according to Naṣr, lie between Marr al-Zahrān and Mecca, the part facing Marr being *hill* حل — free for all to hunt, and the part facing al-Mudairah is *haram* حرم a sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> If one accepts this, Jafjaf جفف may be also

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 834.

2. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 61.

accepted with a slight alteration in spelling, as Naṣr, in reliance on al-Sukkari says that the mountains of Mecca are called *ḡabāḡib* جباب. <sup>1</sup> As, however, 'Ārrām is unlikely to have suggested that travellers descend from Marr al-Zahrān to Mecca, the possibility cannot be excluded that this sentence has been shifted from its original place i.e. east of Mecca on the route to Taif or Najd. If this is assumed, بحر could be read ضريبة Ḍaribah, الضرائب al-Ḍara'ib, or الظريبة al-Zaribah, three names for one locality on the Najdī route to Mecca. The form given by the Egyptian edition for بحر is not very helpful, but the editor observes that al-Maimani, in his Indian edition, has read it al-ṭarīq الطريق which is not very remote from الظرايب. Yāqūt states that al-Ḍara'ib is a locality separated from Marr al-Zahrān by a pass,<sup>2</sup> a statement implying that 'Ārrām's text may read so; al-Bakrī says: «al-Zuraibah (al-Ḍaribah) is a place in al-shām» which suggests that his source might have been speaking of al-Shāmiyyah الشامية (northern Nakhlah), especially as he states that a wealthy Meccan, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣī died there, and also quotes Ibn Ishāq to the effect that al-Zuraibah lies in the Taif region where Sa'īd had an estate.<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt follows Ibn Ishāq in this matter.<sup>4</sup> In a third passage, Yāqūt maintains that the waters of the Ḍaribah valley about upon Dhāt 'Irq.<sup>5</sup> If such a reading is accepted, then Jafjaf should read Ghabghab غبغب, described by Ibn al-Kalbī as the sacrificial place of the idol al-'Uzzā at Nakhlah.<sup>6</sup> It could also read جبجب Jabjab which, according to Ibn al-A'rābi, is a mountain near 'Ukāz, not very far from Nakhlah<sup>7</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, fol. 40.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 903.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 471.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 364.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 799.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 576.

6. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 20.

Bahrain بحرين , a spring in Marr al-Zahrān, cannot be accepted without assuming that this sentence is cut off from the rest of the statement, and that a preposition, في or ب , is missing. Moreover, there is no proof that it was known at the time of 'Ārrām by this name as Waki' calls it al-Bihār.<sup>1</sup>

As to the passage which reads, in Shaikh Ḥ. al-Jāsir's revision «and in Najd in the borders of Mecca lies a valley» or according to Yāqūt's reading «and you descend to the borders of Mecca through a valley» which is acceptable to the editor «called the valley of Turabah», it is difficult to accept either of the two readings in clear conscience. It is tempting to read وينجد ككبب as وينجد في حد مكة — and in the Najd of Kabkab» or وينجد مكة — in the Najd of Mecca, because al-Bakrī, relying on the authority of both al-Akhfash and al-Ṭūsī, locate this Najd near 'Arafah. The Jāhili poet Imrū al-Qais places the Najd of Kabkab near 'Arafah;<sup>2</sup> al-Hamdānī mentions Najd of al-Ḥill which is identical with that of Kabkab.<sup>3</sup> Al-Jafjaf جفف could also read Kabkab ككبب , but it must be supposed that Turabah is a corruption of a place name which fits this location. The valley of Turabah تربة could easily be a corruption of the valley of 'Uranah عرنة which lies near both 'Arafah and Kabkab. This assumption, however, would only be correct if Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān, upon which the waters of that valley abut, is not that of Nakhlah, but the other Bustān in 'Arafah which is known to absorb some waters of the 'Uranah valley. This solution requires also that this sentence should be regarded as separate from

1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 53.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 1112, 1298, 1305.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 265.

its following sentence not only because B. Hilāl did not live in that region, but also because Mts. Yasūm, Qirqid and Shuwān as well as the Birām mine are situated nearer to Ibn ‘Āmir’s Bustān of Nakhlah than to ‘Arafah.

Thus it is advisable to look for an alternative reading. One of the possibilities is Zaimah زيمة which seems to be a more likely name for that valley than Turabah as it lies near Ibn ‘Āmir’s Bustān at Nakhlah, the more so as the waters of the valley of al-Zaimah flow into the village of al-Zaimah near which the Bustān is situated. Jafjaf would then read Ghabghab as it lies nearest to al-Zaimah of all the abovementioned places. However, it is highly likely, that the mention of Jafjaf is misplaced and should form part of another passage. If the reading of al-Zaimah is accepted, it will fit in conveniently with Mts. Yasūm, Qirqid and Shuwān. What militates against it is that B. Hilāl lived far from Nakhlah. So does the fact that the Birām mine lies at some distance from Nakhlah as it is actually situated south of Taif. Besides, the route from Marr al-Zahrān to Mecca does not lead through al-Zaimah.

Were it not for the statement that the valley of Turabah whose waters flow into Ibn ‘Āmir’s Bustān is inhabited by the B. Hilāl who lived in the eastern Turabah, it would be possible to accept the whole passage in its original wording. There is a mention in al-Bakrī’s *Mu‘jam* of the Qarn of Turabah, whose inhabitants are the A‘jāz of the Hawāzin,<sup>1</sup> which implies that this Qarn is not very distant from the Sulaimī territories. It is a vague notion, but then there is not much certainty about any of the above suggestions.

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 90.

If the Qarn of Turabah were identical with the Qarn of al-Manāzil, whose waters abut upon Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah, the statement in question would be at least partly correct. Al-Hamdānī also maintains that the territories of the Hawāzin lie between Tabālah and Nakhlah,<sup>1</sup> but he does not state exactly which Nakhlah he has in mind. This statement forms part of al-Hamdānī's comment on a verse referring to Nakhlah with a distinctly Najdiland-scape as he describes the ḥamd plant which does not grow in the region of Bustān Ibn 'Āmir. He also mentions salt marshes which are of rare occurrence in the Tihāmi Nakhlah. The poet himself seems to locate it near Dhū Ṭuwā which, according to al-Aṣma'ī<sup>2</sup> lies on the Taif route and which al-Bakrī, apparently misled by this statement, places between Mecca and Taif. There is also the Birām mine which actually lies south of Taif, and the famous valley of Sabūḥah which 'Ārrām could not possibly pass over in silence if he were dealing with the region of Nakhlah.

'Ārrām's mention of Mt. Shuwān, or rather of the two Mts. Shuwān in the proximity of Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān seems to have encouraged some authors to jump to the conclusion that the waters of the valley of Shuwān flow into the region of al-Juḥfah which contains another of Ibn 'Āmir's Bustāns.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the existence of the valley of Uthāl near Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of al-Juḥfah, has led to the mistaken assumption that Uthāl lies between Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah and al-Ghumair.<sup>5</sup> Actually Shuwān is nearer to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of Nakhlah than to Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān of al-Juḥfah contrary to the Uthāl valley. As to the hill of

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 265.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 896.

5. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 7.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 554.

4. *Diwān al-Khansā'*, p. 197.

Qafal, it is called Jabal by al-Hamdānī,<sup>1</sup> Qafil by al-Bakrī<sup>2</sup> and al-Zamakhsharī,<sup>3</sup> and Ḥamal by Naṣr.<sup>4</sup> A Qafilah mentioned by al-Azraqī<sup>5</sup> lies too far from Qarn al-Manāzil to be identifiable with Qafal.

Yāqūt mentions a certain Nakhlah of Maḥmūd at one day's distance from Mecca<sup>6</sup> and al-Zamakhshari regards Nakhlah as an entity separate from al-Nakhlatain (the two Nakhlahs), for he assigns to each its own entry.<sup>7</sup> Obviously the two entries should be treated as one. As to the Maḥmūd's Nakhlah, it is unknown.

### CONCLUSION

The names Nakhlah, Baṭn Nakhlah, Nakhlātān and Wādī Nakhlah all denote one locality, namely the valley at which the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir is situated. Prior to Islam and for at least half a century after the Hijrah, this valley was called by one or another of these four names. Later, however, it became known as «the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir», and became the last major halt before Mecca on the pilgrim routes from Kufa, Basra, Najd and the Yemen. The controversy on whether it was Ibn 'Āmir or Ibn Ma'mar to whom this Bustān belonged has been also discussed. It appears that its real owner was Ibn 'Āmir but some scholars tend to exclude him as he also had other *bustāns*, one near 'Arafah and the other near al-Juhfah. This, however, should not argue against his having owned also this Bustān, especially

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 143.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 787.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 58.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 769.

3. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 130.

5. Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār*, vol. 2, p. 237.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, pp. 148, 154.

as al-Zubairi, a well-informed Hijazī scholar, states that it was Ibn ‘Āmir to whom the Bustān of Nakhlah as well as that of al-Juhfah belonged. Besides, geographers and route-mappers ascribe it to either Ibn ‘Āmir or his descendants.

‘Ārrām’s reference to the Bustān of Ibn ‘Āmir is extremely confused and consequently unreliable in its present state. Several suggestions have been made in order to get a clear picture of what ‘Ārrām actually said. All these suggestions concern alterations in the statement allegedly ascribed to ‘Ārrām. There is little doubt that scribal mistakes have rendered this part of ‘Ārrām’s work wholly chaotic in the available MS. as well as in the quotations attributed to him or his transmitters by both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt. This confusion is not limited to this part of ‘Ārrām’s work, since there are numerous mis-statements on many other localities in the entire region covered by his work.

It has also been seen that ‘Ārrām’s location of both Mts. Shuwān near Bustān Ibn ‘Āmir at Nakhlah might have encouraged some scholars to locate Shuwān near al-Juhfah where the other Bustān of Ibn ‘Āmir is situated. This is a perfect parallel to the manner in which Uthāl, a valley near al-Juhfah, was located near Ibn ‘Āmir’s Bustān at Nakhlah.

The Nakhlah of «Maḥmūd», which Yāqūt situates at one day’s distance from Mecca, is unknown under that name. This location, however, suggests that it is the Nakhlah in question, and that the name «Maḥmūd» is an erroneous addition due to lack of revision. Most likely Yāqūt copied a description of Nakhlah from the work of Maḥmūd (al-Zamakhsharī), which consequently became Nakhlah of «Maḥmūd» when Yāqūt entered it in his *Mu‘jam*.

## QALIS

No Arab geographer of the period under consideration other than Waki' and al-Ya'qūbī mentions Qālis. They do so when recording the halting places on the pilgrim inland route between Ailah and Medina. In his *Buldān*, al-Ya'qūbī locates Qālis south of al-Aghrā' and north of Shaghb.<sup>1</sup> He omits al-Kilābah, which is cited in several geographical works as being to the immediate north of Shaghb. He also omits the anonymous halt to the immediate south of al-Aghrā'. Whether Qālis is to be equated with al-Kilābah itself, or with the unnamed halting place between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah, cannot be decided off-hand. Though Waki' locates Qālis south of Madyan and north of al-Agharr south of which he locates al-Kilābah, his account is unreliable, since his list of the halts on this route is clearly mistaken with respect to Badā, Shaghb and Sharaf al-Ba'.<sup>2</sup>

Yāqūt says that Qālis lies on the territory of the 'Udhrah tribe and was given by the Prophet to B. al-Aḥabb of that tribe.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Sa'd, who calls it Fālis, names, as the iqtā' holder, not B. al-Aḥabb as Yāqūt does, but a certain al-Ajabb, and his tribe as Sulaim, not 'Udhrah.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 14.

4. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, p. 1, vol. 2, p. 26.



## QUDAID

Ibn Khurradadbeh mentions Qudaid when mapping the route of the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca to Medina. On that route, he locates it north of 'Usfān and south west of al-Kharrār.<sup>1</sup> When drawing up the pilgrim route between Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadbeh places Qudaid between 'Usfān to the south and al-Juhfah to the north which is also true. He describes it as a place with water and calculates the distance from Qudaid to al-Juhfah as twenty-seven miles and from Qudaid to 'Usfān as twentyfour miles.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbi mentions Qudaid twice, first on the Egyptian coastal route to Mecca,<sup>3</sup> and second on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca.<sup>4</sup> On both occasions, al-Ya'qūbi locates Qudaid south of al-Juhfah and north of 'Usfān, but states on the second that Qudaid belongs to Khuzā'ah. Ibn Rosteh gives the same location but adds that the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaid is twenty miles and that between the latter and 'Usfān twenty-four miles. He also describes Qudaid as a principal, densely populated and fertile village with several water wells. Ibn Rosteh implies that Qudaid is not a sea port as he places it to the left of the sea.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. Al-Ya'qūbi, *Buldān*, p. 341.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

5. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

Qudāmah indicates that the water in Qudaïd is obtained by storing rain water in cisterns. He gives the distance between al-Juhfah and Qudaïd as twenty-six miles and that between Qudaïd and 'Uṣfān as twenty-four miles.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mas'ūdi mentions a place called Kudaïd which is not identical with Qudaïd, as he locates the former between Qudaïd and 'Uṣfān.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hamdānī describes Qudaïd as Khuzā'ī land under Mecca administration.<sup>3</sup> He calculates its degree of latitude as 22°, and its distance from al-Juhfah as twenty-four miles. The distance between Qudaïd and 'Uṣfān is given as twenty-three miles.<sup>4</sup> Al-Hamdānī quotes a Hijazi poet, al-'Ajlānī, to the effect that Amaj is situated between Qudaïd and 'Uṣfān.<sup>5</sup> Al-Zubairī places al-Mushallal near Qudaïd and adds that it is a hill.<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Sikkīt calculates the distance between Qudaïd and Mecca as two day's journey.<sup>7</sup> 'Iyāḍ agrees with al-Zubairī as regards al-Mushallal and adds that it is a mountain from which travellers descend to Qudaïd.<sup>8</sup> He locates al-Mushallal between Qudaïd and the sea.<sup>9</sup> Wakī' describes Qudaïd as a dependency of Medina with a *minbar*<sup>10</sup> and numerous wells, four of which are protected (from the sands) by a wooden fence. The distance from Qudaïd are twenty-four miles to al-Juhfah, twenty-three to 'Uṣfān, eight to Khulaiṣ, one and a half to the spring of al-Futūq, over two miles to the valley of Bidāl, one mile to the pass of Khulaiṣ, six to a mosque of the Prophet, six to Amaj, ten to al-Rauḍah,

1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 120.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

7. Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Diwān 'Urwah*, p. 55.

8. 'Iyāḍ, *al-Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 345.

9. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 345.

2. Al-Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 264.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

6. Al-Zubairī, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

10. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

twelve to the Kāmiliyyah of Ibn Muḥriz and sixteen to al-Kadīd.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bakrī describes Qudaīd as a rural community with a *minbar*, forming part of al-Fur' administration.<sup>2</sup> In another passage, he describes it as a principal village abounding in water and groves of palm trees.<sup>3</sup> He says that the distance from Qudaīd to al-Mushallal is three miles, and to Khulaiṣ seven miles more.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bakrī quotes «ancient» authors when saying that it was thither that the prophet Solomon was carried by the wind to meet the Queen of Shiba. He also mentions the battle between the people of Medina and the Khārijites which took place there in 130 A.H. (748). Al-Bakrī attributes the name Qudaīd to the fact that the torrential rain carves قذ its way there;<sup>5</sup> an explanation Waki' and al-Bakrī, in another passage, attribute to Kuthayyir.<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī's derivation comes from the history of the campaign which the Tubba' mounted against Medina. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, when the Tubba' camped there, his tents were torn قذت *quddat* by gales.<sup>7</sup> Hence the origin of the name. As to the location of Qudaīd, the information al-Bakrī provides is irritating. In two passages it seems accurate, but in a third he places Qudaīd between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah in Mecca in the vicinity of al-Mushallal which he says is there «above Qudaīd», an inconsistency obviously due to lack of revision. He adds

1. *Ibid.*, fols. 51-52.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1055.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1055.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1257, and Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 51.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. p. 147.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1021.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

an account of pre-Islamic rites at al-Mushallal<sup>1</sup> without reference to his source, which is no other than Ibn al-Kalbī.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī also places al-Mushallal near Medina together with 'Azwar, but quotes Ibn al-Sikkīt as his authority.<sup>3</sup> He also places the valley of Daurān, in one passage, between Hirshā and al-Juhfah<sup>4</sup> and, in another, between al-Juhfah and Qudaid on the authority of Ibn Ḥabīb.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Idrīsī locates Qudaid on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. He describes it as a small fortress inhabited by a variety of Arabs who show signs of misery and rely for their livelihood on a few palm trees. He calculates the distances as twenty-four miles from 'Uṣfān to Qudaid, twenty miles from the latter to al-Juhfah and five miles from Qudaid to the sea.<sup>6</sup> He also includes Qudaid, with the same location, in the costal route from Egypt to Mecca.<sup>7</sup> In another location of Yazīd (Qudaid), he places it between al-Jār and 'Uṣfān.<sup>8</sup> Al-Idrīsī describes Qudaid as one of the inland sections of the fifth part of the second climate.<sup>9</sup>

Al-Zamakhsharī states that Qudaid is a village with wells. He identifies it with a place called Khaimatā Umm Ma'bad.<sup>10</sup>

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1217.

2. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Asnām*, p. 13.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1233.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1352.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 561, and see *supra*, p. 129.

6. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 90.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 34.

10. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 169.

In another passage he quotes 'Ulayy to the effect that Uthāl is a valley emerging from the valley of Sitārah and flowing into the direction of Khaimatā Umm Ma'bad. He adds that Uthāl is only another name for Qudaid.<sup>1</sup> In a third entry, al-Zamakhsharī describes Qudaid merely as a «place»,<sup>2</sup> and, in a fourth, he locates Kudaid between Qudaid and 'Usfān in the direction of Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Naṣr locates Kudaid on the conventional route from Mecca to Medina between Amaj and the pass of Ghazāl.<sup>4</sup> Uthāl has become Uthāmid in Naṣr's work, but its location varies, as Naṣr once places it as a valley between Qudaid and 'Usfān;<sup>5</sup> and, on another occasion, as a mountain between al-Mushallal, near Medina, and the sea.<sup>6</sup> Naṣr seems to be keen on placing al-Mushallal near Medina, as he assesses its distance from there at only seven miles, which is not true.<sup>7</sup>

Qudaid between al-Juḥfah and 'Usfān is still known in that area.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 129.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 59.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 140.

## QURĀ 'ARABIYYAH

Four Arab geographers who list the dependencies of Medina mention one called Qurā 'Arabiyyah قري عربية . Two of them, Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Rosteh,<sup>2</sup> have no hesitation in naming it among the dependencies of Medina, using the conjunction و ' . The absence of this conjunction in Qudāmah's version<sup>3</sup> is by no means indicative of any doubt on his part, as he definitely considers it a dependency of Medina. Though al-Idrīsī's version<sup>4</sup> concurs with the above-mentioned statements, it cannot be considered corroborative as it is no doubt borrowed from these sources, even though the form of the name is corrupted to Qurā 'Uraibah or 'Aribah عربية . None of the four geographers, however, ventures to give information about this locality.

Four more forms of this name occur in other sources: Qurā Gharbiyyah غربية in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Istī'āb*;<sup>5</sup> Qurā 'Uyainah عيينة in al-Baghawī's commentary on the Qur'ān;<sup>6</sup> Qurā 'Urainah عرينة , clearly accepted by

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

4. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

5. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, vol. 2, p. 442.

6. Al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 165.

Yāqūt,<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥāfiẓ al-‘Iraḳī,<sup>2</sup> al-Samhūdī,<sup>3</sup> al-‘Abbāsī<sup>4</sup> and al-Kattānī;<sup>5</sup> and Quran ‘Arabiyyah قری عربية favoured in the 8th century A.D. by Abū ‘Ubaid Allāh, the chief secretary of al-Mahdī, and in the early 9th by al-Qāsim b. Sallām.<sup>6</sup> Three of the six forms, Gharbiyyah, ‘Uraibah and ‘Uyainah, which are no more than scribes’ errors, require no further discussion. As to the three remaining forms, one, Qurā ‘Urainah, though accepted by many later reliable authors, is also a mere corruption. It is not conceivable that al-Shāfi‘ī should have called it Qurā ‘Urainah which appears in print on the pages of both *al-Umm*<sup>7</sup> and *Aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*,<sup>8</sup> not only because he was an outstanding scholar of contemporary Arabic and Islamic studies, but also because al-Muzanī, who has abridged al-Shāfi‘ī’s works, explicitly invokes the latter’s authority when calling it Qurā ‘Arabiyyah.<sup>9</sup> So does Ibn Abū Ḥātim in his biography of al-Shāfi‘ī.<sup>10</sup> Also the explanation given by al-Shāfi‘ī’s closest disciple, al-Rabī‘, explicitly excludes any possibility of the form being ‘Urainah.<sup>11</sup> The same is true of Ibn Ḥazm who, though the printed version of his *Ḥawāṣil al-Sirah* has «Qurā ‘Urainah».<sup>12</sup> calls it Qurā

1. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 3, p. 663.

2. Al-Kattānī, *al-Tartībāt*, vol. 1, p. 245.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 159.

4. Al-‘Abbāsī, *‘Umdah*, p. 254.

5. Al-Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 149.

6. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, p. 23.

7. Al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Umm*, vol. 4, pp. 64, 65.

8. Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*, p. 154.

9. Al-Muzanī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, pp. 180, 183.

10. Ibn Abū Ḥātim, *Ādāb al-Shāfi‘ī*, p. 146.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

12. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ḥawāṣil*, p. 24.

‘Arabiyyah in his *Jamharah*.<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, however, seems to have encountered this corrupted form in most of his sources because he is reluctant to accept responsibility when quoting the form correctly given and clearly vocalized by al-‘Abdari. Qurā ‘Urainah appears to have wrongly become the accepted form in the 14th century by the time of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-‘Irāqī who has recorded it in a poem in which he defines its vowels:

وَحَكْمًا أَخَاهَا عَلَى قَرَى	كَذَاكَ عَمْرًا اخْنُؤَا (أَخَهُ) وَادِي الْقَرَى
أَخَاهَا أَبَانٌ مِنْهُ الْخَطَا	عَرِينَةً كَذَاكَ أَيْضًا أُعْطَى

Al-Samhūdī's definition, though not quoted in verse-form, is no less emphatic than that of al-Ḥāfiẓ for, as he rhymes it, it corresponds in its vocalized form with Juhainah.<sup>2</sup> Al-‘Abbāsī<sup>3</sup> and al-Kattānī<sup>4</sup> both draw on the information found in the above quoted authors. This form cannot be accepted. First, because it is in contradiction with all early sources where the argument is limited to the two forms, Qurā ‘Arabiyyah and Quran ‘Arabiyyah. Secondly, because the ‘Urainah tribe have no *qurā* (villages) of their own, at least not in the region concerned. Though a group of ‘Urainīs were allowed, by the Prophet, to encamp on the pastures adjacent to Medina, they were soon put to a terrible death for endangering the security and peace of the community.<sup>5</sup> As to the form Qurā ‘Urainah found in the *tafsirs* of al-Jaṣṣāṣ,<sup>6</sup> al-Qurṭubī<sup>7</sup> and Abū Ḥayyān,<sup>8</sup> it can be

1. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 73.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 159.

3. Al-‘Abbāsī, *Umdah*, p. 254.

4. Al-Kattānī, *al-Tartibāt*, vol. 1, p. 245.

5. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

6. Al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 430.

7. Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 18, p. 12.

8. Abū Ḥayyān, *Muḥīṭ*, vol. 8, p. 245.



safely assumed that the authors are clear of blame, and that the corruption is not of their making.

The two remaining forms Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Quran 'Arabiyyah formed the subject of protracted argument at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. When Abū 'Ubaid Allāh once used the form Quran 'Arabiyyah with nunation, Shabīb promptly criticized this usage and stressed that the only correct form was Qurā 'Arabiyyah with annexation *إضافة* *idāfah*. It was a matter of logic as well as grammar as Abū 'Ubaid Allāh's usage would permit us to identify Qurā 'Arabiyyah with any village in any part of Arabia, whereas Shabīb simply wanted to indicate a specific locality which the chief secretary also had in mind. The verdict of a philologist, Qutaibah, favoured Shabīb's opinion, as he decided that Quran 'Arabiyyah was only applicable to villages in Arabia as a whole, and not to specific villages in the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, al-Qāsim b. Sallām maintained that «Quran 'Arabiyyah» was the correct form, though Qurā 'Arabiyyah had, in his opinion, become the vogue among the «modern» authors of that time.<sup>2</sup> However, and in spite of Ibn Sallām's insistence, this form cannot be accepted for the following reasons:

1. a pure Arab of the post-Islamic era would not say Quran 'Arabiyyah if what he had in mind was a specific locality;
2. Shabīb and Qutaibah maintain that it is called Qurā 'Arabiyyah;

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1. Al-Zubairī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 149.

2. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, p. 23.

3. both Yahyā b. Ādam<sup>1</sup> and Ibn 'Abbās<sup>2</sup> state that Qurā 'Arabiyyah refers to specific villages, which leads to the exclusion of the form Quran 'Arabiyyah;
4. al-Bakrī insists that it is Qurā 'Arabiyyah without nunation;<sup>3</sup> so does al-'Abdarī according to Yāqūt;<sup>4</sup>
5. had Quran 'Arabiyyah been the accepted form or even one of the accepted forms, it would have been given the definite article al ال which is also condemned as wrong by al-Bakrī.

The interpretation of the term Qurā 'Arabiyyah as given by al-Shāfi'ī<sup>5</sup> Abū Yūsuf,<sup>6</sup> and al-Bakrī,<sup>7</sup> unintentionally allows the reading of Ibn Sallām which contradicts their own assertion that «Qurā 'Arabiyyah» denotes a specific place in the Hijaz. For it emerges unmistakably from their statements that they incline to the latter opinion; Abū Yūsuf contrasts this term with Qura A'jamiyyah (the non-Arabian villages); al-Shāfi'ī opposes it to Hajar and Bahrain which he seems to regard as non-Arabian land; al-Bakrī applies it to every village in Arabia, though he insists on annexation and rejects both nunation and the definite article «al» ال as erroneous.

Summing up, it can safely be assumed that Qurā 'Arabiyyah is the only acceptable form. This implies annexing Qurā to 'Arabiyyah with the result that both nunation and the definite article «al» are excluded, since 'Arabiyyah is not

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1. Yahyā b. Ādam, *al-Kharāj*, p. 122.

2. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 28, p. 23.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 930.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 663.

6. Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj*, p. 33.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 930.

used here to denote Arabia as a whole, but a specific locality in the Hijaz.

Having reviewed the different versions of the name in the sources, it has been thought advisable to use, in the following pages, the correct form, Qurā 'Arabiyyah.

Authorities are in conflict on whether Qurā 'Arabiyyah is a dependency of Medina or a congeries of dependencies of Medina. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām records a *ḥadīth* in which al-Zuhri observes that Qurā 'Arabiyyah comprises «Fadak and so on».<sup>1</sup> Al-Balādhuri remarks that Tabūk, Khaibar and Fadak are *qurā* 'Arabiyyah<sup>2</sup> which means, in his opinion, Arabian villages. Ibn Ḥazm states that Qurā 'Arabiyyah «comprises Fadak plus others».<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Anbārī relates that Taimā, is one of the principal villages of Qurā 'Arabiyyah.<sup>4</sup> Al-Samhūdī,<sup>5</sup> al-Khaṭṭābī,<sup>6</sup> al-'Abbāsī<sup>7</sup> and al-Balādhuri<sup>8</sup> record al-Zuhri's *ḥadīth* as transmitted by Ibn Sallām. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr describes Tabūk, Khaibar and Fadak as being some of *qurā* 'Arabiyyah (Arabian villages) to which 'Amr b. Saīd was sent by the Prophet.<sup>9</sup> Al Ya'qūbī mentions Qurā 'Arabiyyah among other localities in the Northern Hijaz, each of which has its own governor at the time of the Prophet.<sup>10</sup> Khalifah b. Khayyāt states that Khaibar,

1. Al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *al-Amwāl*, p. 23.

2. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, vol. 4b, p. 128.

3. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 73.

4. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id*, p. 106.

5. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 159.

6. Al-Khaṭṭābī, *Ma'ālīm*, vol. 3, p. 17.

7. Al-'Abbāsī, *Umdah*, p. 254.

8. Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 36.

9. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, vol. 2, p. 442.

10. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 81.

Wādi al-Qurā, Taimā' and Tabūk form the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of which 'Amr was the governor at the time of the Prophet's death.<sup>1</sup> Al-'Abbāsī equates Qurā 'Arabiyyah with the villages of Medina.<sup>2</sup> He seems to rely on Yāqūt who states that 'Urainah ('Arabiyyah) are villages in the Medina region.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī enlarges the scope by stating that every village in Arabia such as Khaibar, Fadak, al-Suwāriqiyyah and the like is called Qurā 'Arabiyyah.<sup>4</sup> Dr. A. al-Sharīf quotes a statement referring to Khaibar as «the best of Qurā 'Arabiyyah».<sup>5</sup> His source, which he does not mention, seems to be of early Islamic concept.

The above statements refer to different places as forming part of Qurā 'Arabiyyah. In contrast to that, other sources tend to regard Qurā 'Arabiyyah as a specific stretch of land with a number of villages. In al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, Ibn 'Abbās and al-Daḥḥāk are quoted to the effect that Qurā 'Arabiyyah stretches from Medina to Syria.<sup>6</sup> Qatādah is of the opinion that the *qurā* of 'Arabiyyah were so close to each other that the travellers would leave a village in the afternoon and spend the night in another and so on for several days.<sup>7</sup> Sa'īd b. Jubair says that Qurā 'Arabiyyah is identical with *qurā Zāhirah* قري ظاهرة «the known villages» mentioned in the Qur'ān.<sup>8</sup> He places them between Medina and Syria. Abū Hurairah tells of the Jews who, on their flight from Nebuchadnezzar's persecution to Medina, attempted to identify the city they knew by description with *al-Qurā*

1. Khalifah, *Tārīkh*, p. 62.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 663.

6. Al-Sharīf, *Makkah*, p. 6.

7. Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 14, p. 289.

8. Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *al-Kharāj*, p. 122.

2. Al-'Abbāsī, *Umdah*, p. 322.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 15.

5. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 22, p. 58.

al-‘Arabiyyah القرى العربية (the Arabian villages) which stretch all the length of the way from Palestine to Medina.<sup>1</sup> As has already been seen, al-Shāfi‘ī, Abū Yūsuf and al-Bakrī tend to equate Qurā ‘Arabiyyah with the whole of Arabia. Al-Bakrī attributes this statement to al-Aṣma‘ī on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt.<sup>2</sup> However, it can hardly be credited that either al-Aṣma‘ī or Ibn al-Sikkīt should have defied Shabīb or Qutaibah who were so emphatic on Qurā ‘Arabiyyah denoting specific villages in the Hijaz. Besides, this statement is defective in that it identifies Iraq with the region between al-Raml (the Nafud) and Iraq, which suggests a lacuna in al-Bakrī’s source, or in his own text. Al-Bukhārī reports, on the authority of Dajājah, that ‘Uthmān had promised that no religion but Islam should be tolerated in Qurā ‘Arabiyyah.<sup>3</sup> In the light of this report, Qurā ‘Arabiyyah is not applicable to any locality in Arabia south of Wādī al-Qurā since the Jews had been expelled by the Prophet from the neighbourhood of Medina and deported by ‘Umar from Khaibar, Fadak and Najrān. All Arabs in these regions had become Muslims, so that there were no other religions left in what was regarded as Arabia in ‘Umar’s time. The Jews of Wādī al-Qurā and to the north of it had remained undisturbed on the ground that it was not regarded as Arabian territory.<sup>4</sup>

No Arab chronicler denies that the Prophet’s campaign against Wādī al-Qurā took place immediately after that of Khaibar. Since Ibn Ḥabīb mentions that the Prophet marched

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 160.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 15.

3. Al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 236.

4. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 217.

from Khaibar to Qurā 'Arabiyyah,<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Mahmūd Shākir feels justified in applying the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah to Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, another passage where Ibn Ḥabīb, naming the regional administrators appointed by the Prophet, lists one for Wādī al-Qurā, another for Taimā' and a third for Qurā 'Arabiyyah, which precludes a confusion between Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Wādī al-Qurā at that time. It is also clear from the list of the dependencies of Medina as recorded by Ibn Khurradadbeh, Qudāmah and Ibn Rosteh all of whom had access to the official archives, that Qurā 'Arabiyyah was a single dependency of Medina, separately administered, like all its other dependencies, by an *amīr* subordinate to the governor of Medina.

Another point tends to limit Qurā 'Arabiyyah to Medina. This is observable in the statements attributed to Ibn Zabālah and recorded by both al-Samhūdī and al-'Abbasi, as will be described later. They allege that there is an inscription on two stones at Medina, one of which says that a messenger of Solomon or Jesus was sent to Qurā 'Arabiyyah or Yathrib (Medina) or to «this village».

Both acceptable and reliable is the approach of the early Islamic era, which sees in Qurā 'Arabiyyah a separate unit with an indentivity of its own. The most acceptable version of course is that of tax officials such as Ibn Khurradadbeh and Ibn Rosteh, for whom Qurā 'Arabiyyah is one of the dependencies of Medina. This is the version accepted by

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1. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 115.

2. Private communication from Mahmūd Shākir, published later in *al-'Arab*, vol. 2, pp. 769-97.

3. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 126.

Shabīb and Qutaibah who are convinced that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah consists of certain villages in the Hijaz. Ibn ‘Abbās known, among other things, for his geographical reports, is quoted by al-Ṭabarī to the effect that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah figures, together with Fadak and part of Khaibar, among the estates allotted to the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> In al-Qurṭubī’s version, Ibn ‘Abbās names these estates as Quraizah and Banū al-Naḍir at Medina, Fadak which lies at a distance of three days from Medina, Qurā ‘Arabiyyah and Yanbu‘.<sup>2</sup> Abū Hayyān quotes Ibn ‘Aṭiyyah (the later) when stating that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah lies near Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>3</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ādam states that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah is a specific locality.<sup>4</sup> Al-Maqdisī asserts that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah, Fadak, al-Naḍir and most of Khaibar were estates of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the authors whose statements have been quoted in support of alternative attitudes are quite decisive when implying that Qurā ‘Arabiyyah is a separate dependency of Medina. Al-Zuhri’s *ḥadīth* is reported as having the conjunction, between the name Qurā ‘Arabiyyah and the names which follow it in the list of the Prophet’s estates. This is recorded by al-Ṭabarī,<sup>6</sup> Ibn Abū Ḥatīm,<sup>7</sup> al-Bakrī<sup>8</sup> and al-Samhūdī.<sup>9</sup> Al-Jaṣṣāṣ<sup>10</sup> quotes al-Zuhri when

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1. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 28, p. 23.

2. Al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 18, p. 12.

3. Abū Hayyān, *Muḥīt*, vol. 8, p. 245.

4. Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *al-Kharāj*, p. 122.

5. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 25.

6. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 73.

7. Ibn Abū Qatīm, *Ādāb al-Shāfi‘ī*, p. 146.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 930.

9. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 1265.

10. Al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 430.

mentioning Fadak and Qurā 'Arabiyyah among these estates. It is very likely that al-Zuhri used the conjunction, which had been omitted by some transmitters. Besides, most of al-Zuhri's account is attributed to 'Umar, a fact which strongly supports the opinion that Qurā 'Arabiyyah was one of the estates and not a term describing all of them, because there would have been no need for 'Umar to explain to his listeners what Qurā 'Arabiyyah meant. The lack of logic in both al-Balādhuri's and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's opinion is obvious. There is no need to describe any of the villages administered by the Prophet as an Arabian village, since the Prophet's control was limited to what they considered Arabia. Indeed, al-Balādhuri's description of Tabūk as «Arabian» is contested by early writers such as Mālik<sup>1</sup> and al-Wāqidi.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr states in another passage of his *Isti'āb*, that 'Amr b. Sa'īd was the governor of Taimā', Khaibar and Qurā 'Arabiyyah,<sup>3</sup> which does not tally with his assumption that Qurā 'Arabiyyah comprises Tabūk, Khaibar, Fadak and others.

It is almost certain that Qurā 'Arabiyyah was regarded as a separate unit already by the time of the Prophet who sent Mu'ādh to collect its land-tax.<sup>4</sup> Had it been a question of all the Arabian villages or even that of the Northern Hijaz, the task would have presented insuperable difficulties to one man, even as youthful and devoted as Mu'ādh. It is well known that it was the practice of the Prophet to send one or two men to one tribe, while large regions were divided

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1. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 217.

2. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 711.

3. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, vol. 1, p. 155.

4. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, p. 228.



between two or even three tax collectors.<sup>1</sup> What frustrates every attempt at identifying Qurā 'Arabiyyah at that time with some of the famous settlements of the Northern Hijaz, where it must be located, is that all these famous places are excluded by virtue of their being mentioned in many reports beside Qurā 'Arabiyyah. This is the reason why Fadak, Yanbu' and al-Ṣafrā' cannot be identified with Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Nor can Khaibar, since al-Ḥasan, Qatādah and al-Suddi mention Khaibar and Qurā 'Arabiyyah in connection with a conspiracy to corrupt early Islam. Nor can Taimā' or Wādī al-Qurā be the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of the post Islamic era, because each of the three places had its own governor at the time of the Prophet. As to Tabūk, it was not even considered Arab land.

All the above can be taken to prove that Qurā 'Arabiyyah had come to denote a single locality by the time of the Prophet. Nevertheless, there are some reports to indicate that this was not the case before Islam. To begin with, there is the report about the flight of the Jews from Palestine to Medina in which Qurā 'Arabiyyah is used to denote all the settlements on their route two of which, Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā, are mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī and Sharqī who substitute the Hijaz for Qurā 'Arabiyyah.<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Asākir attributes this report to Abū Hurairah,<sup>3</sup> while al-Suyūṭī, who also attributes it to Abū Hurairah, maintains that it is recorded by Abū Nu'aim.<sup>4</sup> However, it does not figure in the latter's *Dalā'il*, the place most likely to contain a report

1. Al-Khuzā'ī *Takhrij*, fol. 158; and al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh*, vol. 2, p. 135.

2. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 15.

3. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 350.

4. Al-Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, vol. 1, p. 25.

of this kind. The second report is that of Ibn 'Abbās, al-Daḥḥāk, Qatādah and Sa'īd b. Jubair, all of whom state that Qurā 'Arabiyyah stretches from Medina to Syria. Their knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of Arabia and their geographical and biblical reports were held to be authoritative. A third report, recorded by al-'Abbāsī, equates Qurā 'Arabiyyah, by implication, with Medina or its region. This report is extremely confused. Its transmitter, 'Umair ('Amr) b. Sulaim al-Zurqī, is alleged to have found an inscription on two large stones close to the grave of «Jeremiah ارميا», the messenger of Jesus» near Medina. Neither Jews nor Christians, nor members of other fa'iths that have sacred books at Medina, could decipher this inscription. However, two men from Māh (there are several places called Māh all of which are situated either in Iraq or to the east of it) succeeded in reading the writing on one of the two stones as follows: «I am al-Aswad b. Suwādah, the messenger of Jesus to Qurā 'Arabiyyah». In another version of the report, Qurā 'Arabiyyah has been replaced by this «village» and by Yathrib (Medina) in a third; al-Aswad by 'Abd Allāh, and Jesus by Solomon. There is no mention of the inscription on the other stone, but al-Samhūdī, on whom al-'Abbāsī might have relied, says that it proved too heavy to be removed.<sup>1</sup> The story must be very old, as 'Umair ('Umar in al-Samhūdī and 'Amr in actual fact)<sup>2</sup> lived in the 7th century. Al-Samhūdī has the correct form: «Iramī grave قبر ارميا» instead of «the grave of Jeremiah», though it has been corrupted in its turn to «human grave آدميا» in another passage.<sup>3</sup> The story is unreliable

1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 158.

2. Ibn Abū Hātim, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. 3, p. 236.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1064.

as a whole, since no Muslim of the 7th century could have tolerated the idea that there were sacred books of any faith apart from Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The two men of Māh are said to have claimed that their people used to live, in ancient times, in Qurā 'Arabiyyah or Medina,<sup>1</sup> a claim to which authors pay no attention. This report is, however, not devoid of geographical significances as it indicates where the early learned men of Arabia locate Qurā 'Arabiyyah. In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī refers to this story, but without mentioning Qurā 'Arabiyyah,<sup>2</sup> and so does al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh*.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq, on the other hand, is more explicit and states that a certain Ibn al-Thalmā, was the messenger of Jesus to al-A'rabiyyah which he identifies with the Hijaz.<sup>4</sup> These reports, which illustrate the Arab's idea of the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of pre-Islamic history, may have contributed to the confusion which reigns among later authors, when they try to locate the post-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah which was no more than a dependency of Medina. The post-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah became identified with a relatively small region, small enough to be regarded as a dependency of Medina like Fadak, Khaibar, Dhul-Marwah, Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā;

As regards the history of Qurā 'Arabiyyah at the time of the Prophet, it has already been said that it was among the estates allotted to the Prophet by virtue of their surrender without a war. Later lists of state-controlled properties contain no mention of Qurā 'Arabiyyah though the Prophet's

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 76.

3. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 738.

4. Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, vol. 2, p. 608.

estates had become state-controlled.<sup>1</sup> This may be accounted for by the fact that the Prophet had bestowed many of his estates upon his Companions. He had, however, exploited them for some time, as Mu'ādh was sent to collect the revenue which was estimated at 7/12 of the produce.<sup>2</sup> This means that the cultivation of Qurā 'Arabiyyah was relatively less expensive than that of Khaibar or Fadak whose peasants were allowed to live there and till the land in return for half of the harvest. Wādī al-Qurā paid one third, but it does not mean that it was more expensive to run than Khaibar, as it was divided in equal parts between its Jews, the 'Udhrah and the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> This was because the 'Udhrah, who had owned a third of Wādī al-Qurā before Islam in return for protecting its Jews, were left in possession of that third, but the Jews had to share their two thirds with the Prophet. Qurā 'Arabiyyah is mentioned as the place to which the companions of the Prophet were about to look for supplies and means of livelihood after the Prophet's death. Yāqūt ascribes to Abū Ḥudhaifah the account that ( ابن ) Mu'ādh speaks of the feelings of the companions whose leaders had decided to live in peace on the proceeds of Qurā 'Arabiyyah to avoid making war on the apostates and to spend their days in the worship of God. This report is attributed by al-Balādhuri to Ibn Mas'ūd who ends by saying that Abū Bakr insisted on waging war against the apostates.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athīr also attributes it to Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>5</sup> Al-Balādhuri's and Ibn al-Athīr's version is the most acceptable, because Mu'ādh survived this war by a mere six

1. Al-Farrā', *al-Aḥkām*, p. 296.

2. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, p. 244.

3. Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām*, p. 296.

4. Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 113.

5. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 259.

or seven years, when the events in question were still so fresh in the memory that there was no need to dwell on them. Thus Ibn Mas'ūd is more likely to be the real source of that report. Abū Ḥudhaifah says that 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ passed Qurā 'Arabiyyah which lay on his way from Medina to Palestine,<sup>1</sup> while al-Balādhurī states that 'Amr's route led through Ailah.<sup>2</sup> Al-Wāqidi relates that the Prophet once sent 'Amr to Dhāt al-Salāsil, which lies between Wādi al-Qurā and Tabūk. In this story 'Amr was allowed to invoke the help of «al-ʿArab which is the land of Baliyy, 'Udhrah and Balqain».<sup>3</sup> It is very probable that al-Wāqidi means Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Abū Bakr may have been referring to it when he said to 'Amr: «You are my governor of the Baliyy, 'Udhrah, the rest of Quḍā'ah and the variety of Arabs there».<sup>4</sup>

Some years later, Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd, al-Ḥasan, Qatādah and al-Suddi mention Qurā 'Arabiyyah when trying to explain events relating to Islamic history or mentioned in the Qur'ān. It has been seen that the officials of Baghdad, especially the tax administrators, paid attention to Qurā 'Arabiyyah. So did theologians such as al-Shāfi'ī, Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Ibn Sallām when trying to define Islamic tax legislation. Traditionalists such as Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, al-Nasā'ī, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Abū Ḥātim, al-Khaṭṭābī, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Qayyim<sup>5</sup> naturally concern themselves with Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Qur'ānic commentators such as al-Ṭabarī, one at least of the two Ibn 'Aṭiyyahs, al-Jaṣṣāṣ, al-Qurṭubī, al-Baghawī, Ibū Ḥayyān

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 663.

2. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 115.

3. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 707.

4. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 446.

5. Ibn al-Qayyim, *Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 4, p. 214.

and Ibn Kathīr<sup>1</sup> record all the information available in their time which can be ultimately traced back to 'Umar, Mu'ādh, Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ūd. So do chroniclers such as Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ṭabari, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Balādhūrī, al-Maqdisī, Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-Athīr. It is not certain whether al-Aṣma'i or Ibn al-Sikkīt mentions Qurā 'Arabiyyah, because it is confused with al-Suwāriqiyyah which could not have been allotted to the Prophet as it was owned by the Sulaim tribe. Arab estates were not confiscated by the Prophet and the *zakāh* — (alms tax) of 10%, 5% or 2.5% was the only tax applicable to them. Shabīb, Qutaibah and al-Zubaidī have tried to define the form of the name Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Al-Bakrī, Yāqūt, al-Samhūdī, and al-'Abbāsī list it in their geographical dictionaries. 'Arrām, when enumerating the dependencies of Medina, does not mention Qurā 'Arabiyyah.<sup>2</sup> Nor does Ibn al-Kalbī when he lists the principal villages of Arabia among which he records Wādī al-Qurā and the Daumah of al-Jandal.<sup>3</sup> Al-Asadī omits both Qurā 'Arabiyyah and Wādī<sup>3</sup> al-Qurā when he records the dependencies of Medina,<sup>4</sup> and Waki' omits the former.

Some of the terms «'Arabī» or «'Arabiyyah» refer to certain objects of daily life which have no clear connection with the Arabs or Arabia as a whole, such as «'Arabī-barley» which is said to be of the best quality and is larger than the corresponding Iraqi product,<sup>5</sup> or the 'Arabī عربي (printed غربي) wine which is made of dates.<sup>5</sup> The Prophet is said

1. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 532.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 197.

4. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 39-40; and al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

5. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān*, vol. 1, p. 592.

6. Ibn Sīdah, *Mukhṣṣaṣ*, vol. 11, p. 90.

to have recommended 'Arabi sheep for curative purposes.<sup>1</sup> He has also praised the 'Arabiyyah bow.<sup>2</sup> Five hundred 'Arabiyyah bows, which were among the equipment found at Khaibar after its conquest by the Prophet, formed the top of the list of important objects.<sup>3</sup> «To lop off palm trees» تعريب derives one of its forms from 'Arab عرب which also denotes a curative treatment of service animals and also means «to have plenty of fresh water».<sup>4</sup> Abū al-'Ajfā', reporting a speech by 'Umar, attributes his own failure to understand an uncommon phrase to the fact that he was an 'Arabi by birth, unable to comprehend Beduin phraseology.<sup>5</sup> In the last mentioned report, 'Arabi may be opposed to A'rābi اعرابي, Beduin, but there is little doubt that «'Arabi» or 'Arabiyyah» in the other reports indicate the locality called 'Arabiyyah. It is clear that some of these words were of pre-Islamic usage. There is a poem attributed by al-Jāhiz to Aus b. Ḥajar which represents the 'Arabi merchant as the symbol of avarice.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, there is no indication of how or why this pre-Islamic poet had reached this conclusion, as the poem cannot be found in his *diwān*, and al-Jāhiz records but one verse of it. This single verse, however, implies that 'Arabiyyah is an urban settlement where frugality is considered a virtue, contrary to the wont of the nomadic tribes praised by Aus.

Trying to explain the term «Qurā Arabiyyah» al-Shāfi'i

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1. Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, vol. 2, p. 939.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 88.

3. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 670.

4. Al-Jauharī, *Siḥāḥ*, vol. 1, p. 79, and al-Zabīdī, *Tāj*, vol. 1, p. 374.

5. Al-Nasā'i, *Sunan*, vol. 6, p. 118.

6. Al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il*, vol. 1, p. 188.

says that «the Jews used to live in the Arab villages around which the Arabs lived. These villages were Fadak and Khaibar which were Jewish villages in the Arab land».<sup>1</sup> This is a very confused definition, as the villages supposed to be Arab turn out to be Jewish villages. Al-Azhari, in his book on al-Shāfi'i's uncommon words, quotes the latter to the effect that some pre-Islamic Arab tribes migrated to the Jewish and Christian settlements in Arabia, and were converted to these religions.<sup>2</sup> This is indeed in line with al-Shāfi'i's information, but leads nowhere. In his *Tahdhīb*, al-Azhari speaks of the Arab villages which he defines as habitations of the Arabs as opposed to the A'rāb who have no villages and who become Arabs only by migrating to the settlements.<sup>3</sup> These reports illustrate the Arabs' vague concept of pre-Islamic Qurā 'Arabiyyah: Al-Azhari reiterates the last-mentioned report when warning his readers not to refer to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār as A'rāb, since they are, in fact, Arabs who live in the «Arab» towns and villages. Before the advent of Islam, the meaning of the word «al-ʿArab» had come to denote the people of the settlements as opposed to «al-A'rāb» — the nomads. By the time of the Prophet, the distinction between al-ʿArab and al-A'rāb had become very clear and any member of one section crossing the line to the other was added to the section of his choice. They were not identical at that time, but Islam helped to remove this distinction. Apparently as a move to discredit the settlers who had not embraced Islam, the term was changed to Muhājirūn and Anṣār as opposed to A'rāb. Thus any non-

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

2. Al-Azhari, *Kitāb al-Gharīb*, fol. 67.

3. Al-Azhari, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, pp. 361-62.



Muslim Arab was called A'rābī. It was an offence to call any member of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār an A'rābī. Any town or village in Arabia embracing Islam was immediately added to the distinguished class of Muhājirūn without its inhabitants being asked to move to Medina, but with the responsibility of defending the new state at any time. As to the Muslim nomads, they remained A'rāb with no military obligations. This meant that the settlers — the Muhājirūn or the Arabs were paid soldiers, whereas the A'rāb were paid only for the battles they fought. Later, when the needs of the new state claimed every available male in Arabia, they all became Arabs as they fought side by side. Only the nomads who stayed in Arabia were called A'rāb.<sup>1</sup> Because of its early enmity to the Prophet, who was so incensed that he abandoned it in favour of Medina, Mecca was described as A'rābiyyah by a scholar of the 8th century with the ulterior motive of deterring other scholars from setting up residence there.<sup>2</sup>

Though the conception of the post-Islamic Arabs of Qurā 'Arabiyyah was very vague indeed, reliable sources are, for the most part, definite in locating it in the Northern Hijaz. Some of them such as 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Mālik and al-Waqidi exclude, from their map of the Arabian peninsula, Wādī al-Qurā and the rest of Northern Hijaz. What they probably have in mind are the political implications of the old «Provincia Arabia». Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurairah, Sa'īd and others state that Qurā 'Arabiyyah stretches from Medina to Syria. Other reports, on the other hand, define the actual status of Qurā 'Arabiyyah as it was known to later generations. In another context, al-Wāqidi interprets the word «al-'Arab» as the land of Baliyy, 'Udhrah and Balqain

1. See al-Farrā', *Aḥkām*, p. 122.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 50.

which, though not a small area is by no means as large as 'Arabiyyah of pre-Islam. Al-Zuhri's version of Qurā 'Arabiyyah is likely to refer to an even smaller area, for he is quoted by the most reliable sources as including it among the estates allotted to the Prophet, an opinion which coincides with that of Ibn 'Abbās and with Mu'adh's report. Several of the Arab chroniclers who list the regional governors of the Prophet name one for Qurā 'Arabiyyah which was known to the tax administrators of Baghdad.

It is difficult to give a definite location of the Qurā 'Arabiyyah of which these officials speak as a dependency of Medina. There is, however, the possibility that it lay between Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā, as Ibn Ḥabīb maintains that the Prophet marched to Qurā 'Arabiyyah from Khaibar. Other authors state that it was Wādī al-Qurā and not Qurā 'Arabiyyah. It is unlikely that Ibn Ḥabīb equates the two places since, in another passage, he mentions separate governors for each. Thus he must have another locality in that area in mind when he speaks of Qurā 'Arabiyyah other than Wādī al-Qurā. Al-Wāqidi points out that the Prophet passed through Birmah on his way from Khaibar to Wādī al-Qurā. This remark may help to identify what was described as Qurā 'Arabiyyah at that time. Birmah is adjacent to Balākith and al-Shabakah which are described as lying near Khaibar to its north-west.<sup>1</sup> All three used to be considered dependencies of Medina. Indeed two of them are even said to be great dependencies of Medina.<sup>2</sup> Could the absence of Birmah, Balākith and al-Shabakah from the lists provided by Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmāh for the dependencies of Medina imply that they formed part of Qurā

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 271.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1329.

‘Arabiyyah? The fact that Fadak and Qurā ‘Arabiyyah surrendered to the Prophet while he was at Khaibar also speaks in favour of this assumption. A companion was sent to sign an agreement with the people of Fadak<sup>1</sup> which is about three days from Khaibar, but no such delegate is mentioned in connection with Qurā ‘Arabiyyah. This suggests that it lay too close to Khaibar to require a special envoy. Maḥmūd Shākīr justifiably accepts al-Samhūdī’s tendency to identify Qurā ‘Arabiyyah with Dhul-Marwah, Balākith and Birmah and the other villages there. In support of his claim, al-Samhūdī stresses that his Medinese contemporaries did not identify Wādī al-Qurā with what must be considered its actual site, but with the region of Dhul-Marwah, Balākith and Birmah.<sup>2</sup> This idea seems to be acceptable on condition that one excludes Dhul-Marwah which has always been regarded as a dependency of Medina. Dhū Khushub may also have formed part of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah as it does not figure in the lists of the dependencies of Medina.

As to Birmah, Balākith and Shabakat al-Daum ( al Shabakah), there is no doubt that they are situated to the north-west of Khaibar. According to al-Hamdānī, Birmah borders on Syria. This definition is not relevant unless he has another Birmah or another Syria in mind, especially as he situates al - Shabakah near a Birmah which lies «above» Ḥunain on the Egyptian route.<sup>3</sup> He might have been using the term Syria from the view point of the Medinese who used to describe the territories north of Medina as Syrian or Shāmī. Al-Bakrī records the same location, but substitutes Khaibar for Ḥunain<sup>4</sup> apparently because he knows of no

1. Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, p. 706.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 1329.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 182.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 271.

Ḥunain in the region of Birmah. As Khaibar does not lie on the Egyptian route, it may be safe to assume that al-Bakrī is mistaken. Ḥunain should also be excluded; it is Ḥasīn (now known as Ḥusayyīn) which lies near Ḥiṣār, a mountain described as belonging to Birmah.<sup>1</sup> The latter, which was an important market in the 7th century, is described by Ibn Ḥabīb as a great dependency of Medina with spring and palm gardens owned by Quraishī lords. He situates it between Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>2</sup>

As to Balākith, both al-Hamdānī<sup>3</sup> and al-Bakrī<sup>1</sup> state that there are two places of that name north of Medina. When trying to locate them, the two authors agree on locating one between Dhul-Marwah (or al-Marr according to al-Bakrī) and Shabakat al-Daum, but differ on the other which al-Hamdānī locates between Ghamr and al-ʿAnāb; and al-Bakrī between Gaza and Madyan. It is, however, possible that Balākith lies nowhere except near Birmah as Ghamr and al-ʿAnāb lie there. Al-Bakrī was misled by the mention of its being near «Syria» which occurs in an account of a Medinese poet's journey to «Syria».<sup>4</sup> It is, on the whole, not unusual for the Medinese to describe the region north of their city as «Syria» which may be an echo of the old idea of «Provincia Arabia». Ibn Ḥabīb describes Balākith as a great dependency of Medina between Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Sikkīt places it between Dhul-Marwah and Dhū Khushub in the valley of Idam.<sup>5</sup>

Shabakat al-Daum is described by both al-Hamdānī<sup>6</sup> and

1. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 78.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. I, p. 711.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 275.

6. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 182.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 182.

5. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. I, p. 711.

al-Bakrī<sup>1</sup> as a dependency of Medina in the vicinity of Birmah, while Naṣr<sup>2</sup> places Dhul-Daum in the territory of the ‘Udhrah. Yāqūt states that Wādī al-Daum stretches from al-Ghamrah, north of Khaibar, to al-Qusaibah, south of it.<sup>3</sup> Al-Aṣma‘ī says that *al-shabakah* indicates an abundance of wells.<sup>4</sup>

‘Amr b. Sa‘īd, who was the governor of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah for the Prophet, is said, by his nephew, to have been the Prophet’s governor for the *sawād* — the rural area — of Khaibar Birmah is described by al-Bakrī as situated at the *sawād* of Khaibar.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt that the term «*sawād*» was known even before Islam, though al-Bakrī applies it, when used by Aus. b. Ḥajar, the Jāhili poet, to the Sawād of Iraq.<sup>6</sup>

These settlements seem to have formed part of not only «Provincia Arabia» but also the old Arabian kingdoms of the Northern Hijaz. Philby has discovered some Thamudic inscriptions there.<sup>7</sup> The Qurā ‘Arabiyyah of the post-Islamic era was but a very small portion of the huge ‘Arabiyyah, so small that it would be difficult even to conjecture its location but for the fact that Birmah was located near Ḥaṣīn and Ḥiṣār, two mountains near Khaibar, and that ‘Amr was governor of the *sawād* of Khaibar. The Muslim Arabs retained no precise knowledge of this province, and even their reports about the post-Islamic Qurā ‘Arabiyyah are conflicting.

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 271.

2. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 78.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 4, p. 875.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 779.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 245.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Simt*, 662.

7. Philby, *The land of Midian*, p. 56.

## CONCLUSION

Qurā 'Arabiyyah, its status, its local history, location and the controversy concerning its nomenclature have already been discussed in the preceding pages. As has been seen, the only correct form of its name is Qurā 'Arabiyyah. Any attempt at locating Qurā 'Arabiyyah should consider the gradual change which occurred in the course of its political history. There is no doubt that it formed, at first, part of the Nabatean kingdom. After the disintegration of the latter, Qurā 'Arabiyyah was almost certainly incorporated in the Roman Provincia Arabia for at least a short period. That Brunnow, Euting and Domaszewski;<sup>1</sup> Hitti,<sup>2</sup> Musil;<sup>3</sup> and Jawād 'Alī<sup>4</sup> do not include this region in the Provincia Arabia does not automatically necessitate its exclusion, since neither the information on this province nor on Qurā 'Arabiyyah suffices to determine its southern boundaries. It is most likely that the name «Qurā 'Arabiyyah» is a later development of an older form, namely «Kūrah 'Arabiyyah», a literal translation of «Provincia Arabia».<sup>5</sup> There would be no point in the region north of Medina being called «'Arabiyyah» (Arabian land) by the Arabs themselves, since it would lead to the exclusion of the rest of Arabia from this term, which would hardly be logical, unless 'Arabiyyah were, in their opinion, different from Arabia. Besides, the

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1. *Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. 3, pp. 250, 264.

2. Musil, «Die Provincia Arabia» *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. 18, part 4, p. 379; and *The Northern Hegaz*, pp. 255-59.

3. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 289.

4. Jawād 'Alī, *Tarikh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām*, vol. 3, p. 55.

5. The name Kūrah is still preserved in lava-fields in this region. Kūrah means a province. It is probably derived from Latin Curia, i.e. local administrative units.

Arabs themselves do not seem to call their peninsula Arabia until many centuries later when they speak of Bilād al-‘Arab. Prior to that it was sufficient to name its regions or to apply to some parts of it, the name of their inhabitants. Equally, foreigners would not have called this region «Arabiyyah» had it not been for the need to distinguish between it and the rest of Arabia which they already knew at that time. The name «Arabiyyah» is only ascribable to foreign usage, i.e. by non-Arabs, who alone would feel the need to describe this part of the province as «inhabited by Arabs». The Arabs themselves accepted this name and applied it to this region. The very fact that only the towns and villages of this region were given the attribute «Arabiyyah» indicates that they were subject to a rule different from that governing the Hijaz and Tihāmah which were both adjacent to «Arabiyyah»

That this region was regarded as different from the rest of Arabia is confirmed by the apparent contradiction that it was termed, by some Arab scholars, as «the land of the Arab», and excluded by others from Arabian territory. The last-mentioned opinion is probably that of those who identify Arabia with that Arabian territory which had never been controlled by foreign powers, whereas the other opinion is that of scholars with some knowledge, albeit vague and indirect of foreign sources on the part of the region and its Arabian nature. Al-Wāqidi’s assumption that the region around Wādī al-Qurā was called «the land of the Arab» is plainly, though not explicitly, influenced by the viewpoint of the past history of this region and the ancient historians of Syria and Palestine who had every reason to regard it as «the Arab land». The same could be deduced from Ibn Ishāq’s references to the inhabitants of this region as «the

Arabs». This was, perhaps, the motive of Ibn al-Kalbī when he limited the Arab land to the region north of Medina. This conception was still vivid in the memory of the 11th century when Naṣir-i Khusrav equates al-‘Arab with the northern part of Arabia.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Ibn al-Kalbī described «the land of the Arabs» as the territory comprising the lands north of Medina, and stretching as far north as Sinai and north-west Mesopotamia,<sup>2</sup> which seems to be a demarcation of Provincia Arabia, and partly corresponds with the delineation of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah in certain references to its pre-Islamic history by some religious scholars.

With the passage of time, Qurā ‘Arabiyyah seems to have shrunk to much smaller proportions. a fact to be accounted for by the disintegration of Provincia Arabia itself. The Qurā ‘Arabiyyah described as a dependency of Medina is likely to have been the fertile valley between Khaibar and Dhul-Marwah. It is in this region where Birmah was situated. Ibn Ḥabīb states that the Prophet marched from Khaibar to Qurā ‘Arabiyyah, whereas al-Wāqidi refers to the place to which the Prophet went from Khaibar as Birmah. The lava fields of al-Kūrah lie close to this region. It is also an established fact that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd was appointed by the Prophet governor of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah. ‘Amr’s nephew states that the region governed by his uncle was the *sawād* (the rural land) of Khaibar. Since the rest of the ancient Qurā ‘Arabiyyah was allotted to various governors, it is likely that this part adjoining Khaibar was the only one still described by the name Qurā ‘Arabiyyah. Caliph ‘Abd al-

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1. Naṣir-i Khusrav, *Sefer-Nāmeḥ*, p. 78.

2. Waki‘ *Manāzil*, fol. 74.



Malik granted Kuthayyir, the poet, a property called al-‘Arab العرب Naṣr reads it al-‘Arib near Medina.<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik used to have his landed properties at Dhū Khushub which was situated in the region near Birmah.

It is from Qurā ‘Arabiyyah that the name «Arab» as opposed to «A‘rāb» is to be derived, since the word «Arab» denotes the settlers, as opposed to «A‘rāb» the Beduin. This distinction is definitely pre-Islamic and can be assumed to have originated in this region which is known to have possessed commercial, agricultural and cultural centres. The region to its south was known as «al-A‘rābiyyah» the land of the Beduin or the Hijaz as indicated by Ibn Ishāq, who was probably relying on early Christian sources. The people of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah were called ‘Arab as against A‘rāb, the people of al-A‘rābiyyah. This distinction seems to be the result of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah being included in the Roman Provincia Arabia, as the Roman officials could not but have called the inhabitants of this region «Arab». This became later a distinguishing term in opposition to the «A‘rāb» or the inhabitants of the rest of Arabia whom nothing connected with the Romans. Arab traders from other parts of Arabia would find it advantageous to accept, and later claim, the description «Arab» when visiting the Roman trading centres. As their settlements and wāy of life approximated more closely to those of the people of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah than those of the Beduin, it is possible that the inhabitants of the settlements of Arabia gradually acquired the name «Arab» by which they were all called at the advent of Islam.

The original meaning of the word «al-‘Arab» the inhabitants

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. p. 633.

of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah or the Arabian part of Provincia Arabia was, however, not totally forgotten by the time of the Prophet and the early days of his first successor, Abū Bakr. This can be inferred from the fact that even the nomadic inhabitants of the region around Wādī al-Qurā were still referred to as ‘Arab on several occasions at that time.<sup>1</sup> This represents a deviation from the general practice of that era, and cannot be accounted for except by the fact that all the people there had always been called «‘Arab», regardless of their mode of life. This, however, did not include the whole of Qurā ‘Arabiyyah, since the tribes around Medina were described as «A‘rāb» in the Qur’ān. This application is pejorative, aiming to discredit non-Muslim Arabs. For political reasons, the term «A‘rāb» was applied to all non-Muslim Arabs, and the term «‘Arab» was restricted to the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, the Muslims of Medina in the early years of the Prophet until the surrender of Mecca and the rest of Arabia, when Medina could no longer accommodate all Muslims. The term «‘Arab» was once again used to distinguish the inhabitants of the Arabian settlements on whom the defence of the new states was incumbent, and the term «A‘rāb» once more came to denote the Beduin who were not paid soldiers except when their help was needed. It was immediately after the time of the Prophet that the earlier practice of calling most of the «‘Arab» «A‘rāb» was reversed into promoting most of the «A‘rāb» to «‘Arab» when they joined the Muslim armies outside Arabia. The term «A‘rāb» came to denote only the

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1. See Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 377, 591, 623; al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, pp. 768, 770.

few Beduin elements who did not leave Arabia or certain settlers whose mode of life was semi-nomadic.<sup>1</sup>

Qurā 'Arabiyyah is not to be confused with Qaryat al-A'rāb in north-east Arabia.

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1. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, p. 27; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 522.

## QURḤ

Al-Muqaddasī describes Qurḥ as a region with Wādī al-Qurā as its capital.<sup>1</sup> He cites five towns which, he says, belong to Qurḥ,<sup>2</sup> He also regards Qurḥ as one of the principal towns of the Hijaz.<sup>3</sup> Its population, according to him, are Sunnis,<sup>4</sup> its «dried peaches» represent a renowned speciality of Arabia,<sup>5</sup> but its water is totally unwholesome.<sup>6</sup> Al-Muqaddasī's description of Qurḥ appears under the entry on Wādī al-Qurā.

Al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, concure with al-Muqaddasī in equating Qurḥ with Wādī al-Qurā,<sup>7</sup> In al-*Muʿjam*, he, however, contradicts this assumption declaring on two occasions that Qurḥ is the capital of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>8</sup> Al-Muqaddasī assesses the distance between Qurḥ and al-Hijr at one day's journey,<sup>9</sup> while al-Bakrī says that it is eighteen miles,<sup>10</sup> which is a little less than a day's journey. According to al-Muqaddasī, the port of Qurḥ is al-ʿAunīd;<sup>11</sup> according to al-Bakrī, it is al-Ḥaurā'.<sup>12</sup> In another entry in his *Muʿjam*, al-Bakrī mentions Qurḥ as a mere place without locating it.<sup>13</sup> Al-Maqqdisi is also of the opinion that Qurḥ is another

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, *oī Ḥ cit.*, p. 53.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 13.

9. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

11. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

13. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1061.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 247, 1056.

10. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 12.

12. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

name for Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>1</sup> Al-Suddī, however, is quoted as saying that Qurḥ is the capital of Wādī al-Qurā<sup>2</sup> which is actually the case as Wādī al-Qurā is a region whereas Qurḥ is one of its several towns and villages. Naṣr follows al-Suddī as regards Qurḥ.<sup>3</sup>

It might have been a corrupted form of Wajj ج which led to the theory that Qurḥ قرح was another name of Wādī al-Qurā, as Wajj was said to be the ancient name of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, not unusual that a town gives its name to a region, as Wādī al-Qurā is known to-day by the name al-ʿUlā, which is the capital of that region.

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1. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. p. 36.

3. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 122.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 54.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

## AL-QUṢAIBAH

Al-Ya'qūbī is the only official geographer to mention al-Quṣaibah when mapping the coastal route between Ailah and Mecca.<sup>1</sup> According to him, it is located between al-Nabk and al-Buḥrah. Were his description of the whole route consistent with the actual situation, it would be difficult to identify the place he had in mind. Things being what they are, it is likely that he refers to what is now called Ra's al-Quṣaibah, near 'Ainūnah. Wakī', on the other hand, locates al-Quṣaibah south of al-Ḥaurā' and north of al-Buḥrah.<sup>2</sup> His account of the Egyptian pilgrim routes is on the whole unreliable and thus cannot be taken for granted. Al-Quṣaibah, though ignored by the early Arab geographers apart from al-Ya'qūbī and Wakī', was a way-station on the pilgrim route from Egypt. It was called 'Uyūn al-Qaṣab.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Al-Yā'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Al-Jazirī, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

## RĀBIGH

Rābigh is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī in connection with the history of the Prophet's campaigns. He places it at a distance of ten miles from al-Juḥfah on the route of travellers from Medina to Quda'id.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that his source is al-Wāqidi because both their statements are identical.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'd is less complicated and more exact when he states that Rābigh is at a distance of ten miles to the left of the route from Medina to Quda'id.<sup>3</sup> It should, however, be borne in mind that all of them speak of the valley of Rābigh, not the village of Rābigh which is actually on the right side of this route. Al-Wāqidi assesses the distance between Rābigh and Medina at several day's journey.<sup>4</sup> In al-Zubairi's *Nasab*, Rābigh is called Rāfi'.<sup>5</sup> Al-Baladhūri describes Rābigh as a valley ten miles from al-Juḥfah;<sup>6</sup> and Ibn al-Sikkīt situates it between Waddān and al-Juḥfah.<sup>7</sup> So does Lughdah.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Bakrī places Rābigh between Medina and al-Juḥfah in the valley of Marr which belongs to Khuzā'ah.<sup>9</sup> This valley

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1. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 234.

2. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

3. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, part 2, vo'. 2, p. 2,

4. Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

5. Al-Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

6. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, vo'. 1, p. 371.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vo'. 1, p. 597.

8. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

9. A -Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 625.

of Marr should be read al-Marāḍ, as Marr is a name of two localities neither of which lies in that region, whereas al-Bakrī himself quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when he locates al-Ghamīm near al-Marāḍ which is situated between Rābigh and al-Juḥfah.<sup>1</sup> In a third passage, al-Bakrī describes Rābigh as a place behind (west of) the pass of Hirshā, some miles off the Medina-Mecca route. He adds that it has a spring, wells and palm groves.<sup>2</sup> He also mentions another place called Rābigh which he locates in the proximity of Medina.<sup>3</sup>

Naṣr describes Rābigh as a valley on the pilgrim route immediately before al-Juḥfah and 'Azwar.<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt attributes this statement to Ibn al-Sikkīt.<sup>5</sup> But Naṣr also locates Rābigh at al-Marrūd in the territories of Ḍamrah.<sup>6</sup> Al-Ḥāzimī describes Rābigh as a valley in al-Juḥfah.<sup>7</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī places Rābigh between al-Juḥfah and al-Abwā' at ten miles' distance from the former.<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Ṣābūnī says that Rābigh is a halt on the Syrian pilgrim route,<sup>9</sup> but Abū al-Fidā' indicates that Rābigh has already replaced al-Juḥfah as a stopping place, and the place where the Egyptian pilgrims begin to perform their pilgrimage rites.<sup>10</sup> Abū al-Fidā''s account is more accurate as the Syrian pilgrim caravans used to call at Medina, which pilgrims should start observing their *Hajj* rites at al-Shajarah.

Yāqūt attributes to Ibn al-Sikkīt the location of al-Barūd near Rābigh.<sup>11</sup> However, both Yāqūt,<sup>12</sup> in another entry,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1006.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1328.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vo. 2, p. 728.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vo. 2, p. 728.

9. Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmilah*, p. 145.

11. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vo. 2, p. 597.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1350.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fo. 71.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fo. 137.

8. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Iibāl*, p. 50.

10. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 80.

12. *Ibid.*, vo. 4, p. 505.



and Naṣr<sup>1</sup> mention al-Marrūd which is identical with this locality, as Yāqūt stresses in both places that it is in the territories of Ḍamrah near Rābigh. Moreover, al-Bakrī gives it the name al-Barūd, but places it in the territories of Ḍamrah in one passage,<sup>2</sup> and in that of Aslam near al-Fur', in another.<sup>3</sup>

Rābigh is a flourishing town in that region, but should not be confused with Mt. Rābigh which is situated on what used to be the Iraqī pilgrim route near al-Suwāriqiyyah.

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1. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fo . 137.

2. A -Bakrī, *Mu'iam*, p. 246.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

## AL-RAUHĀ'

Neither Ibn Khurradadbeh nor Qudāmah mention al-Rauhā' on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh places it at thirty-one miles from al-Shajarah and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah. He adds that al-Rauhā' is but another name for al-Sayālah, a statement which cannot be accepted.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī places it on the pilgrim route between al-Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca, adding that it is the land of Muzainah.<sup>2</sup> Al-Muqaddasī fares no better than Ibn Rosteh when the former describes al-Rauhā' as equidistant from al-'Arj and al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Medina at one day's journey from either. Actually it is al-Ruwaithah that lies between al-Rauhā' and al-'Arj.<sup>3</sup> He assesses the distance between Badr and al-Rauhā' at a journey of two days.<sup>4</sup>

'Arrām states that al-Rauhā' is one of several villages at the foot of Mt. Wariqān on the right side of the mountain in the direction of Mecca. He implies that al-Rauhā' lies in the same direction between Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah.<sup>5</sup> Al-Hamdānī points out al-Rauhā' as Juhainī land,<sup>6</sup> and adds that the water of the valley of Shanūkatān (the two Shanūkahs) flows into al-Rauhā'.<sup>7</sup> He places al-Rauhā' at

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1. -Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

3. A -Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

5. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

2. A -Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

6. A -Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.

twenty-four miles from al-Sayālah and thirteen miles from al-Ruwaithah, giving its degree of latitude as 23°.20'.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī enumerates al-Rauḥā' among the lands usurped by the Juhainah tribe in their drive to the north.<sup>2</sup> In another passage, he describes it as a principal village situated forty-one miles from Medina and inhabited by Muzainah. He states that there is a mosque of the Prophet erected in the place where the Prophet once held prayers, and quotes al-Bukhārī on the location of that mosque. He also quotes Mālik as saying that where the houses of a village stand close together, as they do in al-Rauḥā', the Friday prayer should be held. He relates the story of Muḍar's burial, who is said to have been laid to rest in al-Rauḥā'. Al-Bakrī attributes two different statements on the derivation of the name al-Rauḥā' to the poet Kuthayyir; one of them he attributes to the prevalence of a breeze ارواح there;<sup>3</sup> the other to the fact that the wind blows through it ريح.<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt relies on Ibn al-Kalbī when relating that the Tubba' gave it its name because he had found comfort راحة *rāḥah* there.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Bakrī states that the valley of al-Rauḥā' lies south of Mt. al-Ash'ar,<sup>6</sup> and that Sajsaj is a well in the region of al-Rauḥā'.<sup>7</sup> In another passage, he, however, describes it as the «well of al-Rauḥā'».<sup>8</sup> Al-Bakrī corrupts 'Arrām's above-quoted statement on al-Rauḥā' without naming his source. Whereas 'Arrām says that al-Rauḥā' lies between Sayālah

1. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 681-2, and see Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 48.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1257.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 828.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 154.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 724.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 958.

and al-Ruwaithah at the foot of Mt. Wariqān on its right side in the direction of Mecca,<sup>1</sup> al-Bakrī claims that al-Rauḥā, is situated between Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah on the right side of Mt. Wariqān in the direction of Medina, which cannot be true. This error is attributable to his misplacement of Wariqān which 'Arrām describes as the first mountain encountered by travellers leaving Medina for Mecca. Al-Bakrī, inadvertently, substitutes Mecca for Medina and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> He calculates the distances from al-Rauḥā' to al-Sayālah as eleven miles, that from al-Rauḥā' to al-Ruwaithah as twenty-four miles and that from al-Rauḥā' to the village of Nūḥ as twelve miles.<sup>3</sup> According to al-Bakrī there is more than one route that leads from al-Rauḥā' to Mecca.<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt quotes Muslim and Ibn Abū Shaibah when saying that the distance from al-Rauḥā' is thirty-six and thirty miles respectively without signifying the other end of that journey. Yāqūt seems to imply that this other end is al-Fur',<sup>5</sup> but al-Samhūdī is clear in pointing it out as Medina<sup>6</sup> which is true. Both authors seem to rely on 'Iyād who describes al-Rauḥā' as a dependency of Medina controlled from al-Fur'. As to the distances, 'Iyād situates al-Rauḥā' at forty miles from Medina, but quotes Muslim and Ibn Abū Shaibah who assess it at thirty-six and thirty miles respectively.<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt also relies on al-Wāqidi in his calculation of the distance between 'Irq al-Ẓabyah and al-Rauḥā' which, as he assumes, is three miles,<sup>8</sup> but it is two miles only in al-Wāqidi's *Maghāzī*.<sup>9</sup> Al-Asadī, however,

1. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 959.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 828.

7. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. a, p. 263.

9. Al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, p. 40.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1377.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 959.

6. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1222.

8. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 574.

states that the distance from al-Rauhā' to Medina is thirty-five or thirty-six miles, and, in another place, forty-two. As al-Asadi is usually accurate, the discrepancy could be the result of a variation made in the actual points of departure and arrival as al-Samhūdī suggests.<sup>1</sup> Another fact recorded by al-Asadi is that there are two pillars at the entrance to, and two at the exit from, al-Rauhā'. He adds that al-Rauhā' possesses relics of the Prophet, two palaces and several wells, one of which is attributed to Marwān, and has a cistern built by al-Rashīd, while another provided with a water-scoop is ascribed to 'Uthmān. Its water also flows into a cistern. 'Umar b. 'Abd al 'Azīz had a well dug there whose water gushed into one of the two cisterns, in the middle of the market. As to the well of al-Wāthiq, al-Asadi says that it is the worst of them all, since its depth is sixty cubits. He situates 'Irq al-Zabyah at two miles from al-Rauhā'.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the reference to al-Wāthiq's well, al-Asadi's information is derived from Waki'.<sup>3</sup> Al-Idrīsī seems to confuse al-Rauhā' with al-Ḥaurā', which results in locating al-Ṣafrā' on the coast.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Zamakhsharī states that al-Rauhā' is situated at four postal stages minus three miles from Medina.<sup>5</sup> In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī mentions a mosque of the Prophet called al-Makhḍūb at a distance of three miles from al-Rauhā'.<sup>6</sup> The name of the mosque is al-Munṣaraf as al-Asadi mentions it, with the same location.

1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1223.

3. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 48.

4. See *supra*, p. 76

5. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 79.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 1008-10.

According to a letter addressed to Ibn Bulaihid, al-Rauhā' is still known and lies at a distance of 75 K.M. from Medina in the direction of Mecca.<sup>1</sup> In fact, it is called Bi'r Rāḥah.

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1. Ibn Bulaihid, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vo . 5, p. 180.

## AL-RUḤBAH

Ibn Khurradadbeh refers to al-Ruḥbah as a dependency of Medina.<sup>1</sup> However, in listing the names of the stops, he calls it al-Ruḥaibah and locates it between al-Marwah in the south, and Wādī al-Qurā in the north, and mentions it twice, once when speaking of the Egyptian route,<sup>2</sup> and the second time when drawing up the Syrian route.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows him to the letter except in calling it al-Ruḥbah throughout his book.<sup>4</sup> Both authors vocalize it «al-Raḥbah». Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadbeh even with respect to the use of the name al-Ruḥaibah,<sup>5</sup> but does not mention it with regard to the Syrian route. Indeed, he omits all stops between Wādī al-Qurā and Medina, apparently because he has already mentioned these in connection with the Egyptian route. He uses the name al-Ruḥbah when enumerating the dependencies of Medina.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Ruḥbah either in connection with the Egyptian or the Syrian inland route. Al-Bakrī does not refer to al-Ruḥbah in his *Masālik*, but does so in al-*Mu'jam*. He also discusses its spelling on which he is definite. He is less so on its population: he says, in one passage, that its inhabitants were from Baliyy,<sup>7</sup> and, in

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.* pp. 177, 183.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

5. Qudāmah, *op. cit.* p. 190.

7. A-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 28.

another place, that it lies in the land of 'Udhrah.<sup>1</sup> The editor, however, vocalizes it al-Raḥbah in many places.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Idrīsī uses the name al-Ruḥbah when describing the place as a dependency of Medina,<sup>3</sup> but substitutes al-Ruḥbah for it when listing the halting places on the conventional overland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Wādī al-Qurā and north of Dhul-Marwah.<sup>4</sup> He, however, calls it al-Ruḥbah when mapping the Syrian route.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī locates al-Ruḥbah, apparently on the coastal route, north of Munkhūs and south of al-'Aunīd.<sup>6</sup> This is likely to be a result of misreading al-Wajh as al-Ruḥbah. Its form is al-Ruḥbah, according to Naṣr, who describes it as a region between Syria and Medina near Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>7</sup> Al-Maḡdisī lists al-Ruḥbah among the small Hijazī rural towns.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Ruḥbah has gone out of existence, but it is easy to locate it as it is identical with, or lies near, Suqyā al-Jazl which means that both of them were situated near the valley of al-Jazl. It should be remembered that there are many places in Arabia called al-Ruḥbah and al-Raḥbah, no less than three among them in the Hijaz alone.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 643.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 793, 1281.

3. A -Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fo . 36

4. *Ibid.*, fo . 88.

5. *Ibid.*, fo . 89.

6. A -Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110. 112.

7. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fo . 73.

8. A -Maḡdisī, *op. cit.*, vo . 4, p. 70.



## AL-RUWAIETHAH

Ibn Khurradadbeh places al-Ruwaithah thirty-six miles north of al-Suqyā and thirty-four miles south of al-Sayālah on the conventional route between Mecca and Medina. As to the place itself, he does not elaborate beyond saying that it has cisterns.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī locates it south of al-Rauḥā' and north of al-'Arj, adding that its population comprises descendants of 'Uthmān and other Arabs.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadbeh with respect to the location of al-Ruwaithah, and in the calculation of the above-mentioned distances, stating that it is a watering place on the pilgrim route, with a well called al-Aḥsā', and with a seasonal population during the pilgrimage months.<sup>3</sup> Qudāmah seems to have borrowed Ibn Rosteh's statement about both location and distances, but what the latter calls al-Aḥsā' has become in Qudamah's *Kharāj*, mere *aḥsā'* «wells within easy reach»<sup>4</sup>.

Al-Muqaddasī places al-Ruwaithah north of al-Rauḥā' and regards it as the last halt for travellers from Mecca to Medina.<sup>5</sup> He does not seem to be accurate either about the location or the distances as al-Ruwaithah lies, in fact, south of al-Rauḥā', and is sixty miles distant from Medina accord-

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

2. A -Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

4. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

5. A -Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

ing to al-Asadī,<sup>1</sup> and fifty-nine miles according to Ibn Khurradadbeh; such a distance could not be covered in a mere day's journey, and cannot be compared with the distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Rauḥā' which is, according to al-Hamdānī, thirteen miles only.<sup>2</sup> Al-Hamdānī describes Thāfil as a village of al-Ruwaithah.<sup>3</sup> He places the latter at twenty-four miles from al-ʿArj in the south and thirteen miles from al-Rauḥā' in the north, giving its latitude as 23°.10'.<sup>4</sup> He describes it as Juhainī land,<sup>5</sup> in one passage, and mentions, in another, a locality with that name as a territory of B. Murrah.<sup>6</sup>

ʿArrām state that Mt. Wariqān stretches from Sayālah to the «evening meal» halt between al-Ruwaithah and al-ʿArj.<sup>7</sup> Al-Bakrī borrows this statement without mentioning his source.<sup>8</sup> In another passage, al-Bakrī relates that al-Ruwaithah was among the territories conquered by Juhainah.<sup>9</sup> He quotes Ibn Ḥabīb when he states that the waters of Buzrah valley flows into the fresh-water wells of al-Ruwaithah.<sup>10</sup> Relying on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt, Yāqūt calls it Burzah,<sup>11</sup> but draws on Naṣr in another entry where he calls it Buzrah which is the correct form. Naṣr, however, calls it both.<sup>12</sup> Al-Bakrī calculates the distance from Medina to al-Ruwaithah as seventeen parasangs<sup>13</sup> in one passage, and, in another, twenty-one parasangs,<sup>14</sup> from al-Ruwaithah

1. A -Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, p. 1225.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

7. ʿArrām, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

11. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 565.

13. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 686.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 184.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 184.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1377.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 604.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

to al-Suqyā as ten parasangs;<sup>1</sup> and from al-Ruwaithah to al-Ṣafrā' twelve miles.<sup>2</sup> The pass of al-ʿArj is eleven miles distant from al-Ruwaithah, in one passage,<sup>3</sup> and, in another, fourteen miles.<sup>4</sup> As to the distance between al-Rauḥā' and al-Ruwaithah, al-Bakrī mentions that it is twenty-four miles. He says that two different routes lead from al-Rauḥā' to Badr, one of which passes al-Ruwaithah. Twelve miles south of al-Ruwaithah lies al-Uthāyah<sup>5</sup> where the southern borders of the Hijaz end. He describes al-Uthāyah as a well close to a mosque of the Prophet.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Bakrī seems to have relied mainly on al-Asadī whose information is derived from Wakī'. According to the latter, al-Ruwaithah belongs to Muzainah, and possesses many wells. He refers to the Prophet's mosque at the 51st postal stage near al-Ruwaithah. He also mentions the Prophet's mosque, and a very old tree with numerous inscriptions on its trunk<sup>7</sup> in close proximity of this mosque.

Al-Idrīsī follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh with regard to the distances and location of al-Ruwaithah which he describes as a place in ruins, but still possessing its cisterns.<sup>8</sup> Naṣr claims that the Jiyy valley near al-Ruwaithah was the place where ancient people were carried away by a flood while they were asleep.<sup>9</sup> Yāqūt records a statement by al-Azhārī which describes al-Ruwaithah as a watering halt between Mecca and Medina. Ibn al-Sikkīt is also quoted as saying

1. *Ibid.*, p. 686

3. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 686.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

7. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 48.

9. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

8. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

that al-Ruwaithah is the «evening meal» stop between al-‘Arj and al-Rauḥā’. In the same entry Yāqūt quotes Ibn al-Kalbi to the effect that the Tubba‘ was late arriving at al-Ruwaithah and gave it a name commemorating the delay *raith* ريث.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bukhārī locates the Prophet’s mosque of al-Ruwaithah at two miles north of the postal sign of al-Ruwaithah near which stands a very old tree with numerous writings on its trunk.<sup>2</sup> Al-Asadī gives two estimates of the distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Rauḥā’: thirteen miles and sixteen miles and a half. He calls the two mountains flanking al-Ruwaithah «al-Ḥamrā’, which faces its houses», and al-Ḥasnā’ «which lies to the east on the left side of it».<sup>3</sup> Al-Ruwaithah is identical with Bi’r ‘Abbās.

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 2, p. 875.

2. Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, p. 134, and see *infra*, p.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’*, p. 1012.

## AL-ŞAFRĀ'

Wakī' regards al-Şafrā' as a dependency of Medina. He locates it at twelve miles from al-Ruwaithah and states that it belongs to the descendants of 'Uthmān and Ja'far.<sup>1</sup> Mapping what seems to be the conventional route from Mecca to Medina, al-Muqaddasī situates al-Şafrā' between Badr, in the direction of Mecca, and al-Rauḥā' in the direction of Medina. It is separated from either by one day's journey. Al-Muqaddasī mentions its abundant palm groves and springs, and equates it with a place called al-Ma'lāh.<sup>2</sup> Of all Arab geographers of that era, 'Arrām gives the most detailed description of al-Şafrā' to which he refers as a village abounding with corn-fields and groves of palm trees, and water derived from springs. He locates it between Medina and Yanbū', and states that its waters flow into the latter. Raḍwā, which he locates close to 'Azwar, lies west of al-Şafrā'. 'Arrām also speaks of small hills and mountains surrounding al-Şafrā', and adds that al-Şafrā' belongs to the tribes Juhainah, al-Anṣār, B. Fihr and Nahd.<sup>3</sup> As regards the location, the text cannot be identical with 'Arrām's original for two obvious reasons. First, the statement that Raḍwā lies to the west of al-Şafrā' is contrary to fact, as Raḍwā lies at a considerable distance from al-Şafrā' to the north of it. Secondly, the assumption that Yalyal

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fols, 40, 48.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

3. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

is the valley of Yanbu' and that its waters flow into the latter is erroneous. Yalyal is not the valley of Yanbu', but of al-Ṣafrā' and its waters flow into Ghaīqah. As it is unthinkable that 'Arrām could have placed Raḍwā west of al-Ṣafrā' or confused Yalyal with the valley of Yanbu', it is obvious that alterations have been made to 'Arrām's text. Equally puzzling is the location of 'Azwar at the distance of a race course from Raḍwā, since all other authors locate it near al-Juḥfah, and some even speak of it in connection with the route which the Prophet took when travelling from Medina to Mecca.<sup>1</sup> This is the region in which it is placed by al-Zamakhsharī who relies on the authority of the well-informed 'Ulayy,<sup>2</sup> as well as al-Hamdānī<sup>3</sup> and Ibn al-Sikkīt.<sup>4</sup> Hijazī poets such as al-Muzarrid,<sup>5</sup> Ibn Harmah, Kuthayyir<sup>6</sup> and al-Aḥwaṣ<sup>7</sup> also situate it near al-Juḥfah. 'Arrām speaks of a spring in Yalyal called al-Buḥair, a spring of extremely fresh water which gushes from a mound and runs on through the sands. So profuse is this spring that it defies all attempts at control on the part of the peasants, except where it meanders through the sands. It waters palm trees, melons and vegetables.

Al-Bakrī follows 'Arrām's description of al-Ṣafrā', but mentions that al-Buḥairah (al-Buḥair) is a spring of al-Ṣafrā', and attributes the statement that al-Ṣafrā' is the

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 368, 656.

2. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 164.

3. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, pp. 177, 181.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 727.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1233.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 669.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1280.

valley of Yalyal to al-Qāli.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī relies on al-Sakūnī, a transmitter of 'Arrām, in listing al-Ṣafrā' among the settlements of Ḍamrah.<sup>2</sup> In another passage, he states that it belongs to B. Ghifār (a branch of Ḍamrah).<sup>3</sup> As to the location of al-Ṣafrā', al-Bakrī states that it lies on the way from Medina to Mecca, but not on the conventional route. He assesses the distance from al-Ṣafrā' to al-Ruwaithah at twelve miles, to Badr at twenty miles, to al-Khiyām at thirteen miles and to the village of Nūḥ at seventeen miles.<sup>4</sup> He implies that al-Ṣafrā', albeit having dependencies of its own, is a dependency of al-Fur'.<sup>5</sup> According to him, one of the valleys whose waters abut upon al-Ṣafrā' is Ṭāsā (Ḍās);<sup>6</sup> so is Raḥqān.<sup>7</sup> Among the places which al-Bakrī locates at or near al-Ṣafrā' are 'Irq al-Ẓabyah;<sup>8</sup> Nuṣ', a grey mountain;<sup>9</sup> Musliḥ and Mukhrī which are the mountains of al-Ṣafrā';<sup>10</sup> Faifā Khuraim;<sup>11</sup> al-Maḍīq of al-Ṣafrā';<sup>12</sup> and Thirā which he locates at two days' distance from Medina.<sup>13</sup>

Al-Hamdānī lists al-Ṣafrā' among the Juhaini settlements,<sup>14</sup> and records a poem by al-'Ajlanī, the Hijazi poet who situates it between Badr and al-Rauḥā'.<sup>15</sup> Naṣr maintains that al-Ṣafrā' lies in the valley of Yalyal.<sup>16</sup> Al-Wāqidī places it in the neighbourhood of Sayar<sup>17</sup> which Ibn Sa'd locates

1. *Ibid.*, p. 836.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1020.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1309.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 1038.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

17. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 659.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 903.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 958.

14. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 171.

16. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 34.

at three days' distance from Medina.<sup>1</sup> Al-Zamakhshari mentions al-Dabbah as lying between al-Ṣafrā' and al-Rauhā',<sup>2</sup> and describes the former as a place, in one passage,<sup>3</sup> and as a village in the valley of Yalyal, in another.<sup>4</sup> Al-Idrīsī describes al-Ṣafrā' as an adequate port lying between two other ports, al-Ḥaurā' in the direction of Egypt and al-Quraifah in the direction of al-Jār.<sup>5</sup> Both the location and the description are erroneous, as al-Ṣafrā' is situated in an inland valley east of al-Jār. Al-Idrīsī seems to confuse al-Rauhā', a way-station east of al-Ṣafrā', with al-Ḥaurā', the famous port north of Yanbu'. Such confusion, if it happens, requires him to assume that al-Ṣafrā' lies on the coast between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār. Al-Quraifah القريفة may be a corruption of al-'Udhaibah العذبية which lies west of al-Ṣafrā' and east of al-Jār. Thus the route from al-Rauhā', in the interior, to the port of al-Jār, has been confused with the route from the port al-Ḥaurā' to the port of al-Jār.

Yāqūt records 'Arrām's statement about al-Ṣafrā' with minor alterations in phrasing. Instead of «Raḍwā lies west of al-Ṣafrā'», Yāqūt has «The valley of al-Ṣafrā' lies east of Raḍwā»,<sup>6</sup> which is of course the same mistake. He quotes Ibn al-Sikkīt when stating that al-Kharmā', which is a spring in the valley of al-Ṣafrā', belongs to a certain member of Ghifār,<sup>7</sup> while al-Uthayyil (al-Uthail), which abounds in

1. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, vol. 2, p. 2.

2. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, p. 61.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

5. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 88.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 790.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 426.



palm trees and lies between Badr and al-Ṣafrā', belongs to B. Ja'far.<sup>1</sup> He attributes the information that the valley of al-Samak, which pilgrims sometimes pass, is a Hijazi locality in the region of al-Ṣafrā', to al-Ḥāzimī,<sup>2</sup> and the assumption that Farāqid is a valley whose waters flow into the valley of al-Ṣafrā' to Ibn al-Sikkīt<sup>3</sup> whom he also quotes when describing Fi'rā as a mountain whose waters abut upon the valley of al-Ṣafrā'.<sup>4</sup> However, Yāqūt relies on al-Bakrī in vocalizing the name Fi'rā. It is true that al-Bakrī vocalizes it so, but he also gives another form Fu'rā which he attributes to Ibn Ḥabīb.<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt also relies on Ibn Ḥabīb when locating Wāsiṭ between al-'Udhaibah and al-Ṣafrā',<sup>6</sup> and on Ibn al-Furāt when describing al-Nāziyyah near al-Ṣafrā' as a wide area with wild plants and grass.<sup>7</sup> There is a spring called Kutānah located by Yāqūt at al-Ṣafrā' and described by him as the property of the descendants of Abū Maryam who inherited it from B. Ja'far. Yāqūt relies for both pieces of information on the authority of Ibn al-Sikkīt,<sup>8</sup> while al-Bakrī attributes it to Ibn Ḥabīb and locates Kutānah in Najd which is unacceptable.<sup>9</sup> Al-Bakrī seems to confuse Kutānah with Kutnah which he describes, in another passage, as a Najdī dependency of Mecca.<sup>10</sup> Lughdah situates al-Ṣafrā' at two days' distance from Medina

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 121.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 140.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 865.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 903.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1026.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 890.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 728.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 235.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1114, and see Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

10. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 309.

and describes it as a valley with palm groves. Its inhabitants are B. Yaḥīd, clients of the 'Uthmānis.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ṣafrā' still has many villages and springs and is still famous in that area.

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1. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

## AL-SARḤATAIN

The name al-Sarḥah has, in Arabic, a poetic, almost nostalgic sound, because it reminded the early Arabs of a very dear commodity, water. Where there was a sarḥah, there was also water; when the well was exhausted, the early Arab wandered on. In view of this desert character of the early Arabs, neither trees of which the Sarḥah is only one kind, nor water, nor wells can be traced with any certainty. That may account for our inability to identify this place which is mentioned by no less than four Arab geographers of the early period. Ibn Khurradadbeh,<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh,<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah<sup>3</sup> and al-Muqaddasī<sup>4</sup> speak of it as a way-station on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. All of them locate it between Badā in the north, and al-Baiḍā' in the south. In spite of his different version of that route, al-Muqaddasī is quite consistent as regards its location. Al-Ya'qūbī omits both al-Sarḥatain and al-Baiḍā' from his account of the inland route between Ailah and Medina. Al-Bakrī seems to follow him in this respect, as he passes over both these places in silence when mapping that route in his *Masālik*. Though he mentions al-Baiḍā' in his version of that route, al-Idrīsī

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112.

fails to mention al-Sarḥatain.<sup>1</sup> Waki' locates al-Sarḥatain north of al-Sugyā and south of Shaghḥb which should be Badā, as Badā separates al-Sarḥatain from Shaghḥb.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 88.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

## AL-SAYĀLAH

Ibn Khurradadbeh lists al-Sayālah among the dependencies of Medina.<sup>1</sup> As to the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, he places al-Sayālah, which possesses wells, at nineteen miles from Malal in the direction of Medina and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī adopts the same location, but without mention of distances. As to the inhabitants of al-Sayālah, al-Ya‘qūbī relates that they are Ḥasanīs who have displaced the Quraishī and other elements.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rosteh describes al-Sayālah as fairly densely populated, with a small market and some wells. He points out that Shahines and Sakers are sold there. Ibn Rosteh places al-Sayālah at thirty-one miles from al-Shajarah towards Medina, and thirty-four miles from al-Ruwaithah in the direction of Mecca, adding that al-Sayālah is identical with al-Rauḥā’,<sup>4</sup> an opinion which is not acceptable. Al-Hamdānī is sure that al-Sayālah lies at twenty-four miles from al-Rauḥā’ to the south and at twenty-three miles from Medina. He gives its degree of latitude as 23° .40’,<sup>5</sup> and adds that there is a direct route from Sayālah to Uwāl north of Medina which some Egyptian and Syrian pilgrims choose to follow.<sup>6</sup> He mentions a poem by the Hijazi poet, al-‘Ajlānī, in which al-Sayālah is located between al-Fur‘ and al-Khulai‘āt (Khubaitāt?).<sup>7</sup>

1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

3. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 184.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadbeh on the location of al-Sayālah and on the distances to and from this place.<sup>1</sup> He also concurs in describing it as a dependendy of Medina,<sup>2</sup> and on the existence of wells there.<sup>3</sup> Besides, Qudāmah follows Ibn Rosteh on the fact of Shahines and Sakers being sold there. According to Waki', al-Sayālah belongs to the descendants of al-Ḥusain (al-Ḥasan) b. 'Alī. It possesses many famous wells. At a mile's distance from al-Sayālah on the right side of the route lies the Suwaiqah of the descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. The distances from al-Sayālah are seven miles to Malal; eleven miles to al-Rauḥā', and twenty-four miles to al-Ruwaithah.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Bakrī assests the distance from al-Sayālah to Malal at seventeen miles. He describes al-Sayālah as a principal village, dominated by the Ḥasanīs (they had been driven out well over a century before in the ninth century by the Ḥarb tribe), at twenty-nine miles from Medina and twelve miles from al-Rauḥā'. He adds that there are wells in al-Sayālah, the biggest of which is that of Caliph al-Rashīd with a diameter of nine cubits.<sup>5</sup> Without referring to a source, al-Bakrī borrows 'Arrām's statement about Mt. Wariqān which stretches from al-Sayālah to the «evening meal» halt between al-'Arj and al-Ruwaithah.<sup>6</sup> Al-Bakrī errs with regard to the location of Wariqān, which he describes as the first mountain to encounter travellers emerging from Mecca, a location contradictory to fact and to 'Arrām, and which leads to more errors discussed under the entry on al-'Arj. In another entry al-Bakrī calculates the distance between

1 . Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

3 . *Ibid.*, p. 187.

4. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 46.

5 . Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam.*, pp. 769-70.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1377.

al-Sayālah and al-Rauḥā' as eleven miles.<sup>1</sup> 'Arrām, however, locates al-Sayālah west of Mt. Wariqān which he describes as the first mountain from Medina to Mecca, unlike al-Bakrī.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Idrīsī lists al-Sayālah among the famous localities in the fifth part of the third (sic) climate.<sup>3</sup> He also counts al-Sayālah as a dependency of Medina. Al-Idrīsī says that al-Sayālah is a poor way-station, but that its water is fresh and good to drink. He follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh in respect of both the location and the distance from al-Ruwaitḥah. As regards the distance between al-Sayālah and Malal, he states that it is seventeen miles.<sup>4</sup> Al-Maqdisī regards al-Sayālah as one of the smaller towns in the Hijaz.<sup>5</sup> Al-Hajarī records that there are four hills each called Ḥamrā', on the right hand side of travellers from Medina to Mecca.<sup>6</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī attributes to 'Ulayy a statement to the effect that al-Sayālah valley is the southern limit of the Qabaliyyah region on the pilgrim route.<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī is of the opinion that the name al-Sayālah derives from the campaign of the Tubba' who, being short of water on his arrival there, was exceedingly pleased to find the valley flooded with rain.<sup>8</sup> Al-Samhūdī attributes this to Ibn al-Sikkīt,<sup>9</sup> which is unlikely.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 958.

2. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

3. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

5. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

6. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 1, fol. 132.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 134.

8. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 208.

9. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1240.

Ibn 'Asākir mentions that Ibn Harmah, the 8th century poet, lived there.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī relates that Ibn Harmah, having run out of wine during a party, sent a message in verse to a Ṭālibī notable, also resident in al-Sayālah, asking him for a supply (of wine), but begging him not to divulge the news to the people of al-Sayālah. The Ṭālibī was so outraged by this insulting hint that he summoned the governor of al-Sayālah, who broke up the party at his demand.<sup>2</sup>

Like Waki', Al-Asadī locates al-Sayālah at eleven miles from al-Rauḥā', seven miles from Malal, one mile from Suwaiqah, two miles from the Prophet's mosque of al-Sharaf and nine miles from that of ('Irq) al-Zabyah. He adds that it is owned by the descendants of al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī (it should read al-Ḥasan) and some Quraishīs.<sup>3</sup> In al-Bakrī's *Masālik* ('Irq) al-Zabyah has become 'Irq al-Ṭib.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 237.

2. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vol. 10, p. 129.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1008-9.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 75.



## SHAGHB

Shaghb is the twin village of Badā. The Arab geographers of the era in question hardly ever mention one without the other. Ibn Khurradadhbeh locates Shaghb north of Badā and south of al-Kilābah;<sup>1</sup> so do Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Qudāmah.<sup>3</sup> All of them, except Wakī‘ have an anonymous halt between Shaghb and al-Kilābah. Al-Ya‘qūbī has Qālis instead of both of the unnamed halt and al-Kilābah.<sup>4</sup> Neither Ibn Khurradadhbeh nor Ibn Rosteh refer to its position on the inland route, but this fact is clearly stated by the others as every one of them has more than one route.

Al-Iṣṭakhri says that it is on the Egyptian and Palestinian inland route from Ailah to Medina, adding that it was an *iqṭā‘* granted by the Umayyads to al-Zuhri, the *muḥaddith*, who died and was buried there :° Ibn Ḥauqal says the same except that he omits «muḥaddith» and, when speaking about the Umayyads, employs *كانوا*, which is not good Arabic, instead of *كان*.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Muqaddasi refers to Shaghb only when discussing the

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1 Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

5. Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

inland route from Ailah to Medina. He does so twice and on both occasions locates it between al-Kilāyah (al-Kilābah) and Badā.<sup>1</sup> However, he omits it altogether in another passage and is content with the mention of al-ʿAunid.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Bakrī's *Masālik* contains no mention of Shaghb, though he alludes to Badā when speaking of the conventional route.<sup>3</sup> However, he quotes al-Asadī in al-*Muʿjam* when saying that Shaghb and Badā are the northern limits of the Hijaz.<sup>4</sup> In another passage he locates both Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina, saying that they are situated within the territory of Baliyy.<sup>5</sup> This can be traced to al-Hamdānī, who says that Baliyy possess land in Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina.<sup>6</sup> According to al-Bakrī, Shaghb was the residence and the burial place of al-Zuhri. He describes it as a watering place between the Egyptian and the Syrian routes.<sup>7</sup> The last-mentioned statement is borrowed by Naṣr.<sup>8</sup> Wakī' is mistaken in locating Shaghb south of Badā, as the latter is actually situated south of Shaghb. In consequence of this mistake, he locates Shaghb north of al-Sarḥatain from which it is, in fact, separated by Badā.<sup>9</sup>

Al-Idrisī calls it Shaʿb and lists it among the way-stations on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it south of Ankilāyah (al-Kilābah) and north of al-Baiḍā'.<sup>10</sup>

1. Maqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 11.

6. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 170.

8. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 92.

10. Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

7. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 802.

9. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

Yāqūt quotes Ibn al-Sikkit when describing Shaghb as a town larger than Badā, and adds that Badā has a *minbar*, while Shaghb has both a *minbar* and a market. Yāqūt mentions two places, one called Shaghb and the other Shaghbā, which are no doubt the same.<sup>1</sup> The corruption of Shaghb to Shaghbā seems to derive from a poem by Kuthayyir, in which Shaghb is nunated to become Shaghbān. It is not unusual for nunation with *fathah* to become *alif maqsūrah*. Thus Shaghbān becomes Shaghbā in some works, which confuses Yāqūt.

According to al-Samʿānī, the full name of the place is Yadā Shaghb. He describes it as a valley in the Ailah region. In connection with al-Zuhri, he states that he died there and asked to be buried on the road-side to remind the Muslims to pray for him.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Khallikān states that al-Zuhri's grave is not found in Shaghb, but in a village called Adāmā or Adamā behind Shaghb and Badā, two valleys or villages between the Hijaz and Syria where the Hijazi territory ends and that of Palestine begins.<sup>3</sup> He does not quote any source for such information, but al-Bakrī relates that al-Asadī states that the Hijazi territory ends, and that of Palestine begins, there.<sup>4</sup> As to Adamā being the burial place of al-Zuhri, Yāqūt attributes it to Abū al-Qāsim al-Saʿdī, adding that Naṣr describes Adāmā as a dependency of Medina where al-Zuhri, in his old age, planted groves of palm trees.<sup>5</sup> In another

1. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 302.

2. Al-Samʿānī, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

3. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 318.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 11.

5. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 167, and see Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 17.

passage Yāqūt says that Shaghb, a village behind Wādī al-Qurā, once belonged to al-Zuhri who was buried there.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Ibn Khallikān relies on the author of *al-Tamhīd* when saying that al-Zuhri is buried in al-Naʿf, a village in that region which was the residence of al-Zuhri.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Qutaibah mentions an anonymous village on the northern border of the Hijaz to the south of Palestine where al-Zuhri lived and was buried.<sup>3</sup>

Shaghb, by this name, is still known in the northern Hijaz though al-Qalqashandī expresses his inability to locate either Shuʿaib (Shaghb) or Badā.<sup>4</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 302.

2. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 318.

3. Ibn Qutaibah, *Maʿārif*, p. 239.

4. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 3, p. 393.

## SHARAF AL-BA'ĪL

This name does not occur in Ibn Khurradadbeh's *Masālik*. Nevertheless it is mentioned by Ibn Rosteh, though in a different form, Sharaf al-Naml, which is probably attributable to a scribe's error.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, who is the first Arab geographer to mention it, calls it Sharaf al-Ba'ī.<sup>2</sup> So does Qudāmah.<sup>3</sup> All three authors assume that this place is situated on the pilgrim route from Ailah to the Holy Cities of Arabia. They are unanimous in locating it south of Ailah and north of Madyan.

In al-Muqaddasī's work it occurs three times, but the spelling varies between Sharaf al-Ba'ī<sup>4</sup> and Sharaf Dhul Naml.<sup>5</sup> According to him, it is the starting point of both the inland and the coastal routes to Medina and Mecca. Those who want to follow the inland route go from Sharaf al-Ba'ī to Madyan, while those who want to use the coastal route turn to al-Ṣalā (al-Ṣilā). He states that the latter route was the one in use at that time.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Bakrī does not refer to it in his *Mu'jam*, but mentions it in *al-Masālik* as a halt on the route from Medina to Ailah,

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1. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

2. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 191.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

calling it Ashrāf al-Baʿl. He locates it between Madyan in the south and Wādī al-Ghurāb in the north.<sup>1</sup>

Yāqūt states, in one passage, that Sharaf al-Baʿl is a mountain on the pilgrim route between Syria and Medina.<sup>2</sup> In another passage, he records the opinion that it is a region in Syria.<sup>3</sup> He mentions no source, though it is likely to have been Naṣr.<sup>4</sup>

Wakīʿ is in no doubt that Sharaf al-Baʿl does not lie on the Egyptian coastal route, since he describes it as the first halt on the inland route after Ailah. He locates it south of Ailah and north of Madyan.<sup>5</sup> The geographers who do not mention Sharaf al-Baʿl refer to Ḥaql as the first stop after Ailah. The two localities are not identical.

Up to the last century, this place was known under the name al-Sharfāʾ. It is still known as such to the old people of the area surrounding Mt. Buwārah.

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 675.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 178.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fols. 81, 148.

5. Wakīʿ, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

## AL-ŞILĀ

Al-Ya'qūbī gives the name al-Şilā to a stopping place on the coastal route between Ailah and Medina.<sup>1</sup> He is the first geographer to record it in an available work. In his book, however, it is misspelt - probably due to a scribe's error - al-Şalāh. The place so described is located between al-'Aunīd to the north, and al-Nabk to the south. As has been seen in al-'Aunīd, al-Ya'qūbī's location cannot be accepted, as al-'Aunīd actually lies at several days' distance south of al-Şilā.

Qudāmāh concurs with al-Ya'qūbī in locating al-Şilā north of al-Nabk, but differs from him in placing Sharaf al-Ba'1 immediately to the north instead of al-'Aunīd, which he removes further south.<sup>2</sup> In Qudāmāh's work the name al-Şilā takes the form of al-Şalāh. Al-Muqaddasī mentions al-Şilā twice, mentioning, in one place, that it lies on what was the then used route,<sup>3</sup> but stating, in another, that it is at one day's journey north of Sharaf al-Ba'1 and south of al-Nabk.<sup>4</sup> He uses the name al-Şalā.

Al-Bakrī does not mention al-Şilā in his *Mu'jam*. He does so, however, in *al-Masālik* where he calls it al-Şalāh, locating

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Qudāmāh, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

it on the inland route from Ailah to Medina.<sup>1</sup> Al-Jaziri has obviously used a correct MS. of this book as he mentions only al-Şilā.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakri states very clearly that the location of al-Şilā is the same as that of al-Nabk. Yāqūt's location of 'Ainūnah might lead to the same conclusion as he insists on three occasions that 'Ainūnah lies between Madyan and al-Şalā.<sup>3</sup> This tendency is supported by the location, in the Map of Saudi Arabia, of al-Muwailiḥ, alias al-Nabk, exactly opposits to the Şilā islands, which suggests that the old Şilā of al-Ya'qūbī had been forgotten and its name conferred upon a place in the proximity. Waki', however, locates al-Şilā - which he calls al-Muşallā - south of 'Ainūnah and north of al-Nabk.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Al-Bakri, *Masalik*, fol. 77.

2. Al-Jaziri, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1 p. 376, vol. 3, pp. 758, 765.

4. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.



## ŞUFAINAH

Al-Mas'ūdī mentions al-Şufainah when listing the settlements of the descendants of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, son of the first caliph Abū Bakr, who inhabit that part of Arabia which lies on the Iraqi route to Mecca, and are mostly of Beduin extraction.<sup>1</sup> In another book, he calls it al-Şufainiyyāt and locates it in the Hijaz. On this occasion, however, he does not stress the prevalence of the Beduin element among the Bakris.<sup>2</sup> The commentator on the *diwān* of the poetess al-Khansā', quotes 'Arrām in support of the statement that Şufainah is a Sulaimī village between بَيْن (at بَيْن) al-Suwāriqiyyah, and adds that it is the property of B. al-Sharīd (of the Sulaim),<sup>3</sup> a statement not to be found in 'Arrām's work. In another passage of this commentary, al-Şufainah is described as a Sulaimī village amid lava fields, abounding in groves of palm trees.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Hamdānī includes Şufainah, together with al-Suwāriqiyyah, among the Juhainī settlements.<sup>5</sup> It is recorded that the Prophet bestowed Şufainah as an *iqṭā'* upon B. Shamkh of Juhainah on condition that they refrained from claiming what they could not cultivate.<sup>6</sup> At the time of the Prophet, Juhainah used to live in their own land north west of Medina,

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1. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 287.

3. Al-Khansā', *Diwān*, p. 103.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Şifah*, p. 171.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 4, p. 181.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

6. Hamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, 14 p. 1.

whereas, Şufainah lies to its south east. Besides, B. Shamkh were regarded as belonging to Fazārah and lived far away from Şufainah.<sup>1</sup> As to al-Hamdānī's statement that Şufainah is a Juhainī village, it is only acceptable in so far as it refers to the pre-Islamic past of this tribe. Al-Maqdisī describes Şufainah as a place between Dhāt 'Irq and al-Bustān,<sup>2</sup> which cannot be accurate as Dhāt 'Irq is actually situated between Şufainah and al-Bustān.

'Arrām describes Şufainah as a village abounding in farms and palm groves which are watered by wells, and adds that its mountain, al-Sitār, faces Mt. al-Ḥarrās. He states that Şufainah lies on the part of Zubaidah's pilgrim route from Iraq which the pilgrims choose if they run short of water.<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt attributes this passage to al-Kindī, one of the transmitters of 'Arrām, who adds that the route leads through the Şufainah pass which is difficult to ascend.<sup>4</sup> 'Arrām goes on to say that there are wells called al-Nujair and one called al-Nijārah whose water is slightly salty; all these wells face Şufainah. The «lower» region of these wells contains Mts. 'Amūd al-Bān and 'Amūd al-Safḥ which «nobody can conquer unless he flies». 'Amūd al-Safḥ is on the right hand side of the route, at one mile's distance from Ufai'iyah which he also calls Ufā'iyah. He describes the latter as a «towering elevation» and with a village called Dhul-Nakhl which is also a halting place on that route.<sup>5</sup> The remark «and salt is found there — وها ملح » should read « its water is salty — وماؤها ملح » as it does in Yāqūt.<sup>6</sup>

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 869.

2. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 76.

3. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 403.

5. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 762.

‘Arrām also states that Dhul-Nakhl draws its fresh water from al-Nijārah and al-Nujair, Dhū Maḥbalah and al-Ṣubḥiyyah.

Most of this statement recurs in al-Bakrī’s *Muʿjam*,<sup>1</sup> but with some alterations; in one passage, al-Ḥarrās is called al-Ḥarrāḍ<sup>2</sup> (al-Ḥarrās in the European edition); al-Nijārah and al-Nujair are called al-Thijārah and al-Thujair, a spelling ascribable to al-Bakrī himself;<sup>3</sup> ‘Amūd al-Bān is spelt ‘Amūd Albān<sup>4</sup> which is the correct form. Unlike ‘Arrām who situates al-Nujair and al-Nijārah opposite Ṣufainah, al-Bakrī maintains that they face al-Ḥarrās.<sup>5</sup> In one passage, al-Bakrī records only one form of the name Ufā‘iyah,<sup>6</sup> but two forms in another.<sup>7</sup> He describes it as a «large elevation» and adds that it has a village, which he does not name, which draws its fresh water from al-Ṣubḥiyyah, ‘Arrām, on the other hand, states that its water comes from al-Nijārah and al-Nujair, and Dhū Maḥbalah as well as from al-Ṣubḥiyyah. Al-Bakrī also adapts ‘Arrām’s imaginative metaphor on the impossibility of ascending ‘Amūd al-Bān, to the more pedestrian statement that «only birds» reach its summit.<sup>8</sup>

Like al-Bakrī, Yāqūt misquotes ‘Arrām’s statement about Ṣufainah and its neighbourhood. The two versions of one name, Ufai‘iyah and Ufā‘iyah are misinterpreted as two different localities, between which lies al-Nujl (Dhul-

1. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 722.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 814.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 971.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 722.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 721.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 721.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

Nakhl ).<sup>1</sup> Besides, he not only locates Ufai'iyah on the slopes of Şufainah, but also locates 'Amūd al-Bān and 'Amūd al-Safḥ there which is contrary to the statement of 'Arrām's transmitter, al-Kindī, whom Yāqūt quotes.<sup>2</sup> What Yāqūt quotes correctly is 'Arrām's statement about the fresh water of al-Nujl (Dhul-Nakhl) which helps to correct 'Arrām's edited work.<sup>3</sup> As to al-Bān, Yāqūt records two forms of its name Albān<sup>4</sup> and Alyan,<sup>5</sup> though he does not favour the latter. His source seems to be Naşr<sup>6</sup> who also describes Şufainah as a Hijazī village with groves of palm trees, farms and a sizeable population.<sup>7</sup> For its description, he seems to rely on 'Arrām though the latter's available text contains no mention of its population, merely referring to the size of its farms and palm groves. Naşr is not consistent as regards the location of Şufainah, stating on the one hand, that it is a Hijazi village, but speaking, on the other, of its mountain, al-Sitār, as situated on al-'Āliyah, which is part of Najd.<sup>8</sup> He also mentions the two watering places near al-Şufainah, Bard and Shir',<sup>9</sup> as belonging to B. al-Ḥārith of Sulaim. 'Arrām's Dhul-Nakhl figures as al-Najl which is borrowed by Yāqūt.<sup>10</sup> According to Waki', Şufainah used to be a halt on the Iraqi pilgrim route before this route was diverted by 'Isā b. Musā (d. 167 A.H. - 782 -). Waki' assesses the distance from Şufainah to Ḥādhah at twenty miles,

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 762.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 730.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 762.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 730.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 348.

6. Naşr, *op. cit.*, fol. 14.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 96.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 80.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 82.

10. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 730.

and that from Şufainah to al-Mislah at twenty-eight and a half miles.<sup>1</sup>

Şufainah is still known as a village at the same location.

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 16.

### AL-SUQYĀ (OF B. GHIFĀR)

Al-Suqyā lies, according to Ibn Khurradadhbēh on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca. He places it at thirty-six miles from al-Ruwaithah, in the direction of Medina, and twenty-nine miles from al-Abwā' in the direction of Mecca. He mentions that it has a «flowing river». <sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh concurs with regard to location as well as the distance between al-Suqyā and al-Ruwaithah, but states that al-ʿArj lies between them at fourteen miles from al-Suqyā. As to the distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā', Ibn Rosteh calculates it as nineteen miles. He says of it that it is densely populated, with a large garden and palm groves. <sup>2</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī locates al-Suqyā between al-ʿArj and al-Abwā'. He is the first geographer to call it Suqyā B. Ghifār, adding that it belongs to Kinānah. <sup>3</sup> Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadhbēh to the letter adding that it has «a plantation». <sup>4</sup> Al-Muqaddasī calls it Suqyā B. Ghifār and locates it between al-Abwā' and al-ʿArj at one day's journey. <sup>5</sup> In another passage he describes it as a mere way-station in the Hijaz. <sup>6</sup>

ʿArrām states that Mt. Quds ends at the «evening meal»

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbēh, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

4. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 27

halt between al-‘Arj and al-Suqyā, thus accepting that the distance between them equals one day’s journey.<sup>1</sup> In another place, he locates al-Suqyā west of the villages of Ārah at three days’ journey from al-Fur‘.<sup>2</sup> Al-Idrīsī places al-Suqyā twenty-seven miles north of al-Abwā’ and thirty-six miles south of al-Ruwaithah. He mentions its «flowing river», its garden and groves of palm trees. As to its inhabitants, al-Idrīsī says that they come from the Ṭayy, and a variety of other Arab tribes.<sup>3</sup> No source has been traced for this last statement which, however, is highly unlikely. Al-Hamdānī locates al-Suqyā twenty-four miles south of al-‘Arj and nineteen miles north of al-Abwā’, adding that its latitude is 22° 45’.<sup>4</sup> Wakī‘ states that al-Suqyā possesses a spring which flows into the inalienable properties of al-Ḥusain (al-Ḥasan) b. Zaid. Having run dry for years, it began to flow again in the year 248 A.H. (862), but in 253 (866) it stopped again, and once more started to flow. Wakī‘ states that it was not flowing when he saw it in the year 274 (887). However, he mentions that it flowed once more after that year. This statement is more detailed than that of al-Asadī. Wakī‘ calculates the distances from al-Suqyā at seventeen miles to al-‘Arj, seven miles to the spring of al-Qushairi, one mile to ‘Askar which possesses the properties of al-Ḥusain (al-Ḥasan) b. Zaid, three miles to the spring of Ti‘han and sixteen miles to al-Abwā’.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Bakrī states that the distance from al-Suqyā to al-‘Arj is seventeen miles,<sup>6</sup> to al-Ruwaithah ten parasangs<sup>7</sup> and to

1. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

3. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

5. Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 49.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, pp. 954-55.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 184.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

al-Abwā' nineteen miles. He also remarks that there is, at seven miles from al-Suqyā, an ancient well called Bi'r al-Ṭalūb, and less than a mile north of al-Suqyā the valley of al-ʿAbābid, otherwise knowns as al-Qāḥah. In another entry he divides al-Suqyā from al-Qāḥah by a well called Tiḥan. He assesses the distance between Tiḥan and al-Suqyā at three miles.<sup>1</sup> He quotes al-Sakūnī when placing al-Suqyā at three days' journey from Ārah,<sup>2</sup> but makes no reference to his source when placing the far limit of Mt. Quds between al-ʿArj and al-Suqyā.<sup>3</sup> As to the latter, al-Bakrī says that it is a village with a *minbar* administered from al-Fur'<sup>4</sup> with an abundance of wells, springs and cisterns.<sup>5</sup> He mentions the existence of some *waqfs* attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Zaid.<sup>6</sup> Al-Bakrī regards al-Suqyā as the northern limit of Tihāmah.<sup>7</sup>

As to the origin of the name al-Suqyā, al-Bakrī quotes Kuthayyir who ascribes it to its abundant supply of fresh water.<sup>8</sup> Yāqūt quotes an account by Ibn al-Kalbi who relates that the Tubba' gave it the name because it rained there at a time of dire need. Yāqūt also records a statement by al-Khwārizmī to the effect that the distance between al-Suqyā and al-Fur' is twenty-nine miles. He also quotes al-Hamadhānī on the location of al-Suqyā which the latter places in the lower valley of Tihāmah, adding that it is a very large village at a mere day's journey from the sea,<sup>9</sup> a

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 743.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1050.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 743.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

9. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 104.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1051.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1021.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 743.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 743.



statement untraceable in al-Hamadhānī's available work.

Al-Samhūdī quotes al-Hamadhānī on the origin of the name al-Suqyā, but it is very unlikely that al-Hamadhānī should have concerned himself with a matter of this kind. Besides, it is clear that al-Samhūdī relies very heavily on Yāqūt's account of al-Suqyā. It seems that, in copying Yāqūt, he attributes Ibn al-Kalbī's account to al-Hamadhānī, overlooking Ibn al-Kalbī's name and al-Hamamdhānī's statement. He does not err, however, when copying al-Khawārizmī's statement. Al-Samhūdī records a statement by al-Asadī which implies that the distance between Medina and al-Suqyā is ninety-six miles. 'Iyāḍ places al-Suqyā seventeen miles north west of al-Fur'.<sup>1</sup> He also places (Ti'han) three miles from al-Suqyā.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Bakrī's 'Abābīd is called 'Ānīd by both al-Asadī,<sup>3</sup> about two centuries before, and Yāqūt,<sup>4</sup> about two centuries after al-Bakrī. Ibn Hishām calls it 'Abābīd and 'Abābib.<sup>5</sup> In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī mentions a mosque of the Prophet at a distance of one mile from al-Ṭalūb.<sup>6</sup> Khalīfah locates al-Ṭalūb between al-'Arj and al-Suqyā,<sup>7</sup> but al-Zubairī calls it al-Ṣalūb.<sup>8</sup> Al-'Asadī mentions the Prophet's mosque at one mile's distance from al-Ṭalūb which he locates at

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1234.

2. 'Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 108.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1014-16.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* vol. 3, p. 594.

5. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vols. 1, p. 491.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 75.

7. Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 33.

8. Al-Zubairī, *Nasab*, p. 315.

eleven miles from al-‘Arj and six miles from al-Suqyā, adding that its water is unwholesome. Another mosque mentioned by al-Asadī is that of al-Suqyā, near which gushes a fresh water spring. He states that there are more than ten wells, some with cisterns, at al-Suqyā. He adds that a rich spring runs through a cistern in the pilgrim’s camp and gushes into the *waqf* estate of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid which abounds in palms and other trees. He, however, points out that this spring had ceased to flow until 243 A.H. (856 A.D.) when it resumed flowing, but it was blocked again after ten years. Al-Asadī describes the estate of al-Ḥasan as having eighty wells, fifty of which were dug during al-Mutawakkil’s reign, each well having fresh water within easy reach. Each well watered a farm.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, pp. 1014-16.

## SUQYĀ AL-JAZL

There are several places in Arabia which bear the name of Suqyā. The place with which we are concerned here lies on the inland route between Ailah and Medina, according to the Arab geographers. The first among them to record it is al-Ya'qūbī. He locates it south of Badā and north of al-Marwah, calling it al-Suqyā.<sup>1</sup> Neither Ibn Khurradadhbeh, nor Ibn Rosteh nor Qudāmah mention it in their respective versions of the route.

Al-Muqaddasī refers to it several times, but with little consistency. He often calls it Suqyā Yazīd and points out that it is a Hijazī town,<sup>2</sup> a dependency of Qurḥ,<sup>3</sup> and, in another place a dependency of Medina.<sup>4</sup> He asserts that al-Suqyā lies on the inland route between Ailah and Medina and on the route between Medina and Syria. He places it one day's journey from al-Marwah and three days' journey from Badā. In another passage, he enumerates the stopping places on these journeys. For the Syrian route, he mentions Wādī al-Qurā as the first halt to the north of al-Suqyā and al-Ḥijr as the next. However, he substitutes

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Qurḥ for Wādī al-Qurā in a third passage.<sup>1</sup> This is not unexpected of him. It is noteworthy that in drawing up the routes, he shortens the form of the name to al-Suqyā, omitting Yazīd. In describing al-Suqyā, al-Muqaddasī says that it is the best town in the region of Qurḥ, alias Wādī al-Qurā. Its farms and groves of palm trees stretch in a continuous line as far as Qurḥ. He adds that the mosques lie outside the town.<sup>2</sup> In distinguishing Suqyā Yazīd from Suqyā B. Ghifār, both in the Hijaz, al-Muqaddasī states that the former is a town whereas the latter is a mere way-station in the Hijaz.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī mentions it in both *al-Masālik* and *al-Muʿjam*. In the latter he says that Suqyā al-Jazl is a village in Wādī al-Qurā, and quotes Ibn Ḥabīb to prove that this was the accepted form of the name.<sup>4</sup> He also states that it was inhabited by Baliyy who used to live in the vicinity of Medina before they migrated to that part of Arabia.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, he quotes Ibn Ḥabīb's statement that it belonged to 'Udhrah.<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt also says that Suqyā al-Jazl is within the territory of 'Udhrah attributing this statement, in one passage, to Ibn Ḥabīb,<sup>7</sup> and, in another, to Ibn al-Sikkīt.<sup>8</sup> In *al-Masālik*, al-Bakrī follows al-Muqaddasī in calling it Suqyā Yazīd.<sup>9</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 112.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 784.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 784.

7. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 702.

8. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 104.

9. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

Long after the Egyptians had ceased to use the inland route from Ailah to Medina, al-Samhūdī described al-Suqyā as the point where the routes from Syria and Egypt converge.<sup>1</sup> In al-*Wafāʾ*,<sup>2</sup> al-Samhūdī attributed this statement to al-Asadī who situates Suqyā al-Jazl at a distance of seven days' journey from Medina and two days' journey from al-Marwah.

Al-Asadī's source seems to be Waki' who locates al-Suqyā north of 'Anāb and south of both Wādī al-Qurā on the Syrian route and al-Sarḥatain on the Egyptian inland route.<sup>3</sup> Lughdah describes al-Suqyā as prosperous and abounding in (fruit) trees. He also locates it north of 'Ain Ma'n and 'Amūdān, and south of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *al-Khulāṣah*, p. 283.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, p. 1234.

3. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

4. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

## AL-SUWAIDĀ'

Al-Suwaidā' is noted for its proximity to Medina on the conventional route of the Egyptian and the Syrian pilgrim caravans. In most Arab geographical works that care to mention the stopping places, al-Suwaidā' is named as a half-way halt between Medina and al-Marwah.

Ibn Khurradadbeh locates it between al-Marr to the north and Dhū Khushub to the south.<sup>1</sup> So do Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Qudāmah, except that the latter omits Dhū before Khushub<sup>3</sup>.

Al-Muqaddasī is satisfied to state that al-Suwaidā', which he calls al-Suwaidiyyah, is at an equal distance, i.e. two days' journey, from both Medina and al-Marwah.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Hamdānī is alone in saying that it is at one day's journey from Medina. He does not state it directly, but implies it by stressing that the distance between al-Marwah and Medina is two days' journey with one halt at al-Suwaidā', which, he says, is a watering place. He adds that to the right of al-Suwaidā', (apparently, he means to the west of it) there

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

4. Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

is Uwāl to which the Egyptian and Syrian caravans are diverted after al-Suwaidā' if they choose the route through al-Sayālah (in order to avoid visiting Medina). He says that Uwāl is populated by the Ja'āfir, Mawāli and a mixture (of Arabs).<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī quotes Abū Miskīn as saying that al-Suwaidā' is at two days' journey from Medina on the route to Syria.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī's only statement about al-Suwaidā' in his *Mu'jam* is that it is «a place».<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in his *Masālik*, he mentions al-Suwaidā' as the second halt after Medina on the way to al-Marwah which he places north of al-Suwaidā'.<sup>4</sup> He regards it as the northern limit of the Hijaz.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Idrīsī counts al-Suwaidā' among the halts on the inland route between Ailah and Medina. He locates it north of Dhū Khushub and south of Marr.<sup>6</sup> Waki' is alone in locating al-Suwaidā' north of al-Arāk. However, he agrees with the other geographers with respect to al-Marr which he locates north of al-Suwaidā'.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 130.

2. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vol. 1, p. 172.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 767.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 77.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 22. See *supra* p. 24.

6. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

7. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

## TABŪK

Ibn Khurradadbeh cites Tabūk as situated on the Syrian pilgrim route to Medina, south of Suragh and north of al-Muḥdathah.<sup>1</sup> So do Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> and Qudāmah.<sup>3</sup> In the surviving part of al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Buldān*, Tabūk is mentioned only as the place at which the Prophet received a delegation from Ailah led by Ru‘bah b. Yuḥannā upon whom he bestowed a robe of honour.<sup>4</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī gives the distance between Tabūk and Medina as ninety parasangs which he equates to twelve days’ journey.<sup>5</sup> Wakī‘ locates Tabūk south of Asrā‘ (Suragh) and north of al-Muḥdathah on the Syrian pilgrim route.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri indicates that Tabūk is part of the Syrian desert,<sup>7</sup> a statement borrowed in its entirety by Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>8</sup> who also concurs<sup>9</sup> with al-Iṣṭakhri in stating that Taimā’ is a more prosperous fortress than Tabūk which lies to its south.<sup>10</sup> According to al-Iṣṭakhri Tabūk is situated between al-Ḥijr and the borders of Syria, from which it is four days’

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

4. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

5. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 270.

6. Wakī‘, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

7. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

10. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, P. 25.



distance. He also states that Tabūk is half way between Syria (Damascus) and Mecca. Of Tabūk itself, al-Iṣṭakhri says that it is a fortress with a spring, groves of palm trees and a garden said to have belonged to the Prophet. The people of al-Aikah, to whom prophet Shu'aib was sent, are said to have lived there, though Shu'aib himself came from Madyan of which al-Iṣṭakhri says that it is larger than, and opposite to, Tabūk from which it is at six days' distance.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal borrows the whole description, even the wrong location of Tabūk in relation to Taimā', but with a few minor alterations such as *الرسول النبي* instead of *الرسول*, *نحو ست مراحل* instead of *نصف طريق الشام* and *نحو من ست مراحل* instead of *نحو من ست مراحل*.<sup>2</sup> The author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* locates Tabūk in the desert and describes it as a very prosperous borough in Arabia.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī describes Tabūk as a small Syrian town with a mosque of the Prophet.<sup>4</sup> Listing the towns of al-Ghaur, the third zone of Syria, al-Muqaddasī counts Tabūk among them together with Ṭabariyyah and Nablus, whereas Maʿān, Adhriʿāt and Amman are situated on the fourth zone.<sup>5</sup> There seems, however, to be no logical explanation for this distinction. Al-Muqaddasī assumes the distance between Tabūk and al-Manhab, in Najd, to be seven days' journey.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī mentions Tabūk, not for its own sake, but only to define the territories of Judhām and Lakhm.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

3. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 148.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, pp. 129, 131.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Al-Bakrī points out that Tabūk is the extreme northern limit of the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, he states in another passage, that it forms the extreme southern boundary of Syria.<sup>2</sup> In a third passage, he implies that Tabūk is part of Syria when he says that al-Ḥijr lies between Syria and the Hijaz.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī attributes to Saʿīd b. Ghālib al-Jaihānī the location of Tabūk on the line which leads from the coast of Ailah eastward to al-Kufa, dividing the land of the Arabs from Syria.<sup>4</sup> Al-Balādhurī regards Tabūk as Syrian territory.<sup>5</sup> So does ʿIyāḍ, who describes it as a known locality in the extreme south of Syria.<sup>6</sup> Al-Birūnī regards it as one of the towns of the second climate, and, including it in Arabia, places it opposite to Madyan. Its longitude, according to him, is 58°.50' and its latitude 27°.7 Naṣr, who locates Tabūk between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria, states that the well of Tabūk ceased to fill every now and then since Ibn ʿUrayyid repaired it when asked by ʿUmar.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Idrisī is the first Arab geographer to enumerate Tabūk among the dependencies of Medina.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, he states that it is at four days' journey from the nearest Syrian territory to the north. The distance between Tabūk and Madyan is, according to him, six days. Describing Tabūk, he says that it is surrounded by fortifications. (Here

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

5. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 71.

6. ʿIyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 108.

7. Al-Birūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 551.

8. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 144.

9. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

the scribe changes لطيف بها to مطيف بها which obviously has no bearing on the statement). Its inhabitants draw their water from a purling spring round which there are palm trees in plenty. He regards its ancient population as identical with the people of al-Aikah to whom prophet Shu'aib was sent. Al-Idrisi says that Taimā', which he places at a distance of four days' journey from Tabūk, surpasses the latter in size. As to the tribes inhabiting that area, al-Idrisi claims that the territories between Ailah, Wādī al-Qurā and Tabūk are inhabited by the tribes of Juhainah, Baliyy and Judhām who are rich in camels, milk and clarified butter. He describes them as nomads who are generous and hospitable.<sup>1</sup> Al-Idrisi also regards Tabūk as a town on the Syrian pilgrim route to Medina south of a place which he calls Dimnah, a prosperous village. To the south of Tabūk, al-Idrisi places al-Muḥdathah.<sup>2</sup> He lists Tabūk among the famous localities in the fifth part of the third climate.<sup>3</sup>

Yāqūt repeats the above-quoted statement found in the works of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal which he attributes to Abū Zaid.<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt also quotes Mālik to the effect that Tabūk is the metropolis of the Tabūk valley, and that it is the extreme northern limit of the «first Hijaz الأول». <sup>5</sup> According to Yāqūt al-Sam'āni says that Tabūk has another name, al-Maulah.<sup>6</sup> This statement is not to be traced in al-Sam'āni's *Ansāb*. What al-Sam'āni says there is that Taimā' is among the territories of Tabūk.<sup>7</sup> Al-Zamakhshari,

1. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 96.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 88.1

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 824.

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 77, see *supra*, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 670.

7. Al-Sam'āni, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

however, says that al-Maulah is the name of the spring of tabūk.<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt also states that he was told by Ibn Abū Jarādah that Mt. Sharaurā could be seen from Tabūk when looking east.<sup>2</sup> In another passage, Yāqūt says that the people of Tabūk could see Mt. Sharaurā in the east and Mt. Ḥismā in the west.<sup>3</sup> Al-Maqdisī calculates the distance between Tabūk at 90 parasangs,<sup>4</sup> but he, unlike al-Mas'ūdī, does not convert it into travelling days.

Tabūk is of major importance in the history of the Prophet's wars as it was the object of his last campaign. It is still known in the northern Hijaz. It used to grow the famous large red Tabūkī grapes.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Ḥibāl*, p. 147.
  2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 282.
  3. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 167.
  4. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 239.
  5. Ibn Sīdah, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 71.

## TAIMĀ'

Ibn Khurradadbeh enumerates Taimā' among the dependencies of Medina, mentioning its fortress, al-Ablaq of al-Samau'al, the Jew, to whom he refers as the king of Taimā', who was famous for keeping his promises. He locates Taimā' between Syria and the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh follows him in this respect but omits the reference to the religion of al-Samau'al.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah does not elaborate beyond saying that Taimā' is a dependency of Medina.<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Faḡih adds to this that it lies to the north of Medina.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Iṣṭakhri regards it as part of the Syrian desert.<sup>5</sup> So does Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>6</sup> The former says that it is three days' journey from Syria. He locates Taimā' north of Tabūk, and describes it as a fortress and more prosperous than Tabūk, with groves of palm trees. He describes it as the market of the open country of al-Jazīrah.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal follows him to the letter.<sup>8</sup> Their location of Taimā' is inaccurate, as it is, in fact, situated south-east of Tabūk.

Al-Muhallabī says that Taimā' is the metropolis of Ṭayy,

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

4. Ibn al-Faḡih, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

7. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

6. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

and relates the story of the foundation of its fortress al-Ablaq, and its ruler al-Samau'al.<sup>1</sup> Al-Muqaddasī praises its water<sup>2</sup> and describes it as the only town in the Arab steppe. According to him, Taimā' is a large ancient town abounding in groves of palm trees whose dates are all of good quality, and amazingly luxuriant gardens. Its water supply is fresh and abundant. The spring there flows through iron bars to a pool from which it spreads to the farms. There are many other fresh-water wells, but most of them are abandoned. The mosque and the houses are near to the market. But his judgment on the character of its inhabitants is adverse. They are greedy and have neither reliable 'ulamā' nor an able governor. He testifies to having seen that their governor was a shoemaker and their *imām* a grocer. They are also excessively clannish and resort to arms at the slightest provocation. Al-Muqaddasī relates different views as to the nature of its connection with neighbouring districts. He disagrees with those who regard it as part of Syria or al-Jazīrah or even with those who consider it an intermediate region. He rather inclines to the opinion that it is part of the Arab open country which he regards as a separate region. He offers a detailed list of the routes leading through Taimā' from Syria to the Holy Cities of Arabia and to Najd and Iraq, saying that those routes had served as postal routes for the Umayyads of Damascus, and had been used by the armies that carried Islam to Syria.<sup>3</sup>

Both al-Muqaddasī and al-Hamdānī<sup>4</sup> state that travellers

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1. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 87.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 251, 252.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Şifah*, p. 131.

in that region are exposed to highway robbery, unless they are accompanied by a native escort. Al-Muqaddasī adds that pilgrims were at times assaulted and robbed of their property and camels. Al-Hamdānī refers to Taimā' as the home of al-Samau'al and locates it at full three days' journey from al-Ḥijr. He mentions the existence of routes leading from Taimā' to Najd and Iraq, but stresses the necessity of a native escort. As regards the population of Taimā', al-Hamdānī says that it consists of members of Tayy with an admixture of Mawālī.<sup>1</sup> He also states that there is another place called Taimā' in eastern Arabia.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Idrīsī believes that Taimā' is equidistant from al-Ḥijr, Khaibar, Tabūk and Daumah at four days' journey from each, a calculation lacking in accuracy. He also says that the distance between Taimā' and the southern border of Suria equals three days' journey. According to him, Taimā' is the market of the Arab steppe with groves of palm trees and plenty of water, but a declining trade. However, he describes Taimā', also as a flourishing ancient fortress more prosperous than Tabūk.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that he relies for this information upon both Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Muqaddasī. Where he differs from them is that he locates the fortress al-Ablaq, the home of al-Samau'al, in Khaibar, not in Taimā' where it actually stands.

Al-Bakrī points out in both *al-Masālik*<sup>4</sup> and *al-Mu'jam*<sup>5</sup> that Taimā' has a port on the Red Sea near Ailah. Both

1. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

3. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 89.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 7.

al-Hamdānī<sup>1</sup> and Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>2</sup> call this port Ḥaql. So does al-Bakrī, in another passage of *al-Muʿjam*, when listing the gradual expansion of the Juhainah tribe.<sup>3</sup> He locates Shaghb and Badā between Taimā' and Medina,<sup>4</sup> which can be accepted only on the assumption that the Taimā' region does stretch as far to the west as the Red Sea. On this occasion, al-Bakrī states that Baliyy lived in that locality. Another mention of a tribe camping in Taimā' occurs in connection with Jarm who, as he says, used to reside in Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā until they were driven cut to the Yemen by B. Sa'd.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī states that there is a Hijaz for Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>6</sup> Al-Hamdānī describes the coast of Taimā' as wilderness.<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Anbārī marks out Taimā' as one of the principal villages of 'Arabiyyah;<sup>8</sup> Ibn Qutaibah describes it as a city between Syria and the Hijaz. His definition of the Hijaz is rather confusing.<sup>9</sup>

The author of *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* describes Taimā' as a very prosperous borough and situates it in the desert.<sup>10</sup> Al-Bīrūnī, locating Taimā' in Arabia among the towns of the second climate, assesses its longitude at 58° .30' and its latitude at 27° .<sup>11</sup> Al-Maqdisī regards Taimā' as a Hijazi town.<sup>12</sup> Al-Hamdānī, in *al-Iklīl*, says that al-Arqam was king of the

1. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, p. 291.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 914.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 127.

8. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-Qasā'id*, p. 329, see *supra*, pp. 190-219.

9. Ibn Qutaibah, *al-Shi'r*, pp. 45, 358.

10. *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 148.

11. Al-Bīrūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 551.

12. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.



Taimā' tribe in the time of Moses who sent an expedition against that king.<sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī relates that a branch of the 'Amāliq called Dāsīm used to control the Hijaz of Taimā' and that al-Arqam was their king.<sup>2</sup> According to 'Iyād, Taimā' is one of the principal villages situated in the territory of the Tayy. Though he states that Taimā' is a coastal town, 'Iyād nevertheless adds that it is the point from which a route leads to Syria.<sup>3</sup> Al-Marzūqī claims that Taimā' is a town in the Medina region.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Sikkīt, however, places Taimā' at Wādī al-Qurā, and mentions its abundant groves of palm trees.<sup>5</sup> Naṣr agrees to this location and adds that Jews used to reside there.<sup>6</sup> The name of its fortress al-Abḷaq is, according to Naṣr, al-Ḥillit.<sup>7</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī says that Taimā' is the home town of a very wealthy and numerous family, B. Yasār, the clients of 'Uthmān.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Sam'ānī lists Taimā' among the territories of Tabūk, and adds that it is situated between the latter and Khaibar.<sup>9</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, however, calls that area the desert of Taimā'.<sup>10</sup> Yāqūt quotes al-Sakūnī to the effect that the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā' is four days' journey, and between Taimā' and Daumah of al-Jandal three or four days' journey.<sup>11</sup> Al-Hajarī points out that al-'Urudāt is half way between Taimā' and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>12</sup> Al-Sam'ānī places

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklil*, vol. 1, p. 74.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 9.

3. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 108.

4. Marzūqī, *Ḥamāsah*, p. 710.

5. Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Diwān 'Urwah*, p. 62.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 35.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 65.

8. Al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

9. *Al-Aghānī*, vol. 2, p. 124.

10. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

11. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam*, vol. 4, p. 76.

12. Al-Hajarī, *Nawādir*, part 1, fol. 133.

Taimā' half way between Syria and Medina.<sup>1</sup>

Taimā' appears to have been an important station on routes running in several directions. The Syrian pilgrim route must have often led through Taimā' before the 12th century A.D., as Ibn Khallikān says that prince Shirkuh went to Mecca via Taimā' and Khaibar in the year 555 A.H. (1160).<sup>2</sup> Al-Sam'āni, writing before that year, indicates that Taimā' and Khaibar lie on the Syrian pilgrim route.<sup>3</sup> As has been seen, al-Muqaddasī mentions several routes converging at Taimā' from all directions.<sup>4</sup> Besides, a highwayman who raided a herd of camels in Egypt in the early 8th century, drove them to al-Yamāmah via Taimā'.<sup>5</sup>

As is the case with Wādi al-Qurā, some Muslim traditionists believe that Taimā' is situated outside Hijazi territory, because 'Umar did not exile its Jews.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it is for that reason that some of them do not regard these two localities as part of Arabia at all.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Sa'd, on the other hand, considers it so much part of Arabia that he reports a statement in which «O, women of Taimā'» means women of Arabia.<sup>8</sup> In another passage he relates a statement to the effect that the land of Taimā' would be blessed by a prophet, meaning Prophet Muḥammad, words which identify

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1. Al-Sam'āni, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

2. *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, p. 176.

3. Al-Sam'āni, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

4. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 365.

6. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 39.

7. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 247.

8. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 9.

Taimā' with Arabia itself.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Wāqidī attributes to Ḥizām b. Muḥayyiṣah of the early seventh century A.D. a statement that betrays the prosperity of Taimā' at that time. Ḥizām says that the spring of Taimā' gushes from a mountain and that it has never encountered any obstacle on its way.<sup>2</sup>

Taimā' has been recently fully integrated with the Arabian territories in its neighbourhood.

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1. *Ibid.*, part I, vol. 4 p. 58, see *supra*, pp. 11-27.

2. Al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, p. 713.

## ‘USFĀN

In mapping the route which the Prophet followed when he emigrated from Mecca to Medina, Ibn Khurradadbeh includes ‘Uṣfān in the list of places on that route.<sup>1</sup> In the register of halts on the conventional route between Medina and Mecca, Ibn Khurradadbeh locates ‘Uṣfān at twenty-four miles from Qudaïd and thirty-three miles from Baṭn Marr in the direction of Mecca. He points out that there are wells in ‘Uṣfān.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī assumes the same location, except that he changes Baṭn Marr to Marr al-Zahrān in one passage,<sup>3</sup> but follows Ibn Khurradadbeh’s form in another.<sup>4</sup> According to al-Ya‘qūbī, ‘Uṣfān is a dependency of Mecca.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Rosteh accepts Ibn Khurradadbeh’s location as well as his calculation of the distance from Qudaïd to ‘Uṣfān, but assesses that from ‘Uṣfān to Marr at thirty-four miles. Describing ‘Uṣfān, Ibn Rosteh states that it is a very large village, densely populated, fertile and supplied with water by wells and occasionally by ponds found between Arāk and Umm Ghailān.<sup>6</sup>

Qudāmah follows Ibn Khurradadbeh as regards the description, the location and the distance to and from

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 313.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

6. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

‘Uṣfān, with the sole exception of that from ‘Uṣfān to Baṭn Marr which he calculates as sixteen miles.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī mentions al-Had’ah at seven miles distance from ‘Uṣfān,<sup>2</sup> and Kudaïd, situated between ‘Uṣfān and Qudaïd,<sup>3</sup> Al-Hamdānī describes ‘Uṣfān as a dependency of Mecca, inhabited by Khuzā‘ah and Quraish.<sup>4</sup> As to the conventional route, al-Hamdānī locates ‘Uṣfān at an equal distance of twenty-three miles from Qudaïd and from Marr al-Zahrān in the direction of Mecca, giving ‘Uṣfān’s degree of latitude as 21°.40’.<sup>5</sup> In another passage, he places al-Ghamim between ‘Uṣfān and Marr.<sup>6</sup> All that al-Muqaddasī has to say about ‘Uṣfān is that it is equidistant from both Baṭn Marr, and Khulais and Amaj in the direction of Medina at one day’s journey from each.<sup>7</sup>

‘Arrām states that before ‘Uṣfān to the left there stands Mt. al-Sharāh from where a pass leads to ‘Uṣfān itself.<sup>8</sup> ‘Arrām relates that ‘Uṣfān lies on the road and has a *minbar*, palm groves and numerous farms. Its inhabitants derive solely from Khuzā‘ah. After ‘Uṣfān the traveller reaches the sea and loses sight of the mountains and villages.<sup>9</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri says that the valley of Sitārah is situated between Baṭn Marr and ‘Uṣfān on the left hand side of those who travel from Medina to Mecca.<sup>10</sup> Unlike his usual practice Ibn Ḥauqal does not borrow al-Iṣṭakhri’s statement this

1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

2. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 246.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

7. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

8. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

10. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 120.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

time, but Yāqūt attributes it to Abū Zaid.<sup>1</sup> Al-Idrīsī places 'Uṣfān at thirty-three miles from Baṭn Marr and twenty-four miles to Quda'id in the direction of Medina. Of 'Uṣfān al-Idrīsī says that it is ten miles distant from the sea and has wells of fresh water. According to him, it is populated by Juhainah, a statement that cannot be traced to any of his predecessors,<sup>2</sup> and which is untrue.

Al-Bakrī relies on the *Ḥadīth* when saying that 'Uṣfān lies on the route of the Prophet's migration,<sup>3</sup> and that al-Had'ah is between Mecca and 'Uṣfān.<sup>4</sup> He places Kuda'id (al-Bakrī vocalizes it Kadīd which is also acceptable) between Amaj and 'Uṣfān, adding that it possesses a running spring flanked by many palm trees belonging to the Meccan Ibn Muḥriz.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bakrī also locates al-Rajī', a Hudhaili watering place, between Mecca and 'Uṣfān.<sup>6</sup> He borrows Arrām's entire statement about 'Uṣfān attributing it to al-Sakūnī, but changes Mt. al-Sharāh to al-Sharā'.<sup>7</sup> In another passage, al-Bakrī describes 'Uṣfān as a principal village with a number of wells and cisterns.<sup>8</sup> According to him, 'Uṣfān has a *minbar* and is administered from al-Fur' which is a dependency of Medina.<sup>9</sup> He quotes al-Aṣma'ī as saying that Ghurān of which he claims first-hand knowledge is a valley in the region of 'Uṣfān, owned by Hudhail, whereas Ibn Ishāq says that it is a Liḥyanī village stretching to Sāyah. Liḥyan

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 27.

2. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1161.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1347.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 641.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 943.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1119.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 787.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1021.

and Hudhail are, however, related tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bakrī states, in one passage, that the borders of Tihāmah converge with that of the Hijaz at al-Fur‘,<sup>2</sup> which situates ‘Uṣfān and Qudaid within Tihāmah. Nevertheless, he places Mt. Jumḍān, which he locates between Qudaid and ‘Uṣfān, in the Hijaz when trying to point out the error of a leading *muḥaddith* who corrupts it to Jundān.<sup>3</sup> However, in the entry on Jumḍān, al-Bakrī himself records a poem in which Jumḍān is a corrupted form of Jumrān because the poet was a native of Najd expressing his longing for his native encampment which cannot but be Jumrān.<sup>4</sup> In connection with ‘Uṣfān, al-Bakrī quotes two *ḥadīths*, one mentioning ‘Uṣfān among the places within the radius of the jurisdiction of Mecca, and the other relating that the Prophet quickened his pace when passing through a colony of lepers near ‘Uṣfān.<sup>5</sup> As to the distance of ‘Uṣfān, al-Bakrī calculates them at six miles from Kudaid, eight miles from Kurā‘ al-Ghamīm and twenty-three miles from Khulais. There is the public well and the mosque of al-‘Adanī at a mile’s distance before al-Ghamīm. Adjoining that well there is a place called Masdūs, at which he says there are other wells belonging to some descendants of Abū Lahab.<sup>6</sup> According to him, ‘Uṣfān is inhabited by the Khuzā‘ah tribe.<sup>7</sup>

Yāqūt relates that al-Rashid had a palace built near ‘Uṣfān.<sup>8</sup> He relies on Abū al-Ash‘ath, a transmitter of ‘Arrām’s

1. *Ibid.*, p. 993.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 943.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 943.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 957.

8. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 4, p. 371.

work when borrowing the latter's description of al-Sharāh.<sup>1</sup> He also quotes al-Sukkārī when locating 'Uṣfān at two days' journey from Mecca and three days' journey from al-Juḥfah.<sup>2</sup> In his quest for the derivation of the name 'Uṣfān, Yāqūt refers to a source he does not define assuming that it was called so because of the difficulties the rainwater السيل (misread as الليل — night) encounters in emerging from this place.<sup>3</sup> Al-Bakrī attributes this statement to Kuthayyir.<sup>4</sup> Al-Samhūdī, quoting from al-Asadī, speaks of wells, cisterns and a spring called al-'Aulā' in connection with this locality.<sup>5</sup> Al-Azhārī states that 'Uṣfān is a watering place on the route between Mecca and al-Juḥfah.<sup>6</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī says that al-Had'ah is found at seven miles from 'Uṣfān in the direction of Mecca.<sup>7</sup> He locates Kudaid between Qudaid and 'Uṣfān. About the latter, al-Zamakhsharī states, in one passage, that it is a «place»,<sup>8</sup> but describes it, in another, as wells in the valley of Faidah when he enumerates the watering places between Mecca and Yanbu'.<sup>9</sup> 'Iyāḍ places Kadid (Kudaid) between Qudaid and 'Uṣfān at a distance of forty-two miles from Mecca.<sup>10</sup> He also situates Kurā' al-Ghamim at eight miles from 'Uṣfān in the direction of Mecca.<sup>11</sup> Wakī' states that 'Uṣfān used to be a dependency

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 270.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 673.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 673.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Muḥjam*, p. 1257.

5. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1266.

6. Al-Azhārī, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 107.

7. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 76.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

10. 'Iyāḍ, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 306.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 305.



of Medina, but belonged to Mecca in his time.<sup>1</sup> It possesses many wells and a spring attributed to the descendants of Ja'far b. Sulaimān. This spring has a cistern and is located at one mile south of 'Uṣfān. Other distances from 'Uṣfān are two and a half miles to the pond of al-Asḥṭāṭ, seven to the mosque of al-'Arabī (al-'Adanī), eight to Kurā' al-Ghamīm, ten to the well of the Beduin, twelve to the valley of al-Kurā', nineteen to the Janābidh of Ibn Ṣaifi, seventeen to the well of al-Qurashī, eighteen to the well of Ibn Dubai', and twenty-three to Quda'id in the north and Baṭn Marr in the south.<sup>2</sup>

'Uṣfān is a well-known locality in the Northern Hijaz.

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol 40.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 52.

## WADDĀN

All al-Mas'ūdi has to say about Waddān is that it is eight miles distant from al-Abwā'.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī assesses this at six miles and also points out that it lies at one day's journey from al-Juhfah. He claims that during his stay there, in the early tenth century, the Ja'fari chief used to reside «there» (it can be either al-Abwā' or Waddān). He describes the Ja'āfir as a powerful tribe with extensive properties in al-Fur' and al-Sā'irah, but laments the feud that existed between them and their cousins and neighbours, the Ḥasanīs, a feud that led to the domination of the new-comer tribe Ḥarb over the whole region. However, he is in no doubt that Waddān is east of al-Abwā', which is contrary to fact.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥauqal borrows the whole statement except for not referring to his stay there and pointing out al-Abwā' as the actual residence of the Ja'fari chief.<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt records al-Iṣṭakhrī's statement literally but attributes it to Abū Zaid.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Hamdānī includes Waddān in his list of the Hijazi settlements, in one passage.<sup>5</sup> but describes it as Juhainī

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1. Al-Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 235.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

3. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 810.

5. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 181.

territory, in another.<sup>1</sup> The Hijazi poet, al-‘Ajlānī, whose work he has recorded, locates Waddān between al-Abwā’ to the south east and al-Jār to the north.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī describes Waddān, together with Sāyah, as the south-western limit of the Hijaz,<sup>3</sup> and follows al-Hamdānī in regarding it as Juhainī territory.<sup>4</sup> In defining Waddān, al-Bakrī says that it is a principal village.<sup>5</sup> In another passage, he quotes al-Sakūnī in stating that the waters of the valley of Ārah flow into al-Abwā’ then into Waddān and finally into al-Ṭuraifah before flowing into the sea.<sup>6</sup> There is no need to stress that this statement is ‘Arrām’s, as al-Sakūnī is one of his reporters. But al-Bakrī does not refer to his source when he states that Waddān lies west of Hirshā at two miles’ distance from it and below it.<sup>7</sup> This statement is also ‘Arrām’s and is to be found literally in his work.<sup>8</sup> In another entry, al-Bakrī claims that Waddān is five miles distant from Hirshā and adds that some travellers incline to avoid al-Abwā’ on their way from al-Suqyā to al-Juḥfah, preferring the route leading through Waddān which is eight miles distance from al-Abwā’.<sup>9</sup> His source seems to be al-Asadī who adds that Waddān has rich springs and cisterns, and that there are post signs erected by al-Mutawakkil.<sup>10</sup> Al-Asadī’s source is Wakī‘ who adds on the authority of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ,

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1374.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1052.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1351.

8. ‘Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

9. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 954.

10. Samhūdī, *Wafā‘* p. 1017,

who is both a native of that area and a reliable source, that Waddān used to be a dependency of Medina with a *minbar*, but lay in ruins in his time.<sup>1</sup> However, as the above-mentioned statements of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal indicate, it flourished again soon after Waki'.

Al-Maqdisi calculates the distance between Waddān and al-Abwā' as six miles.<sup>2</sup> Al-Zamakhshari describes Waddān as borderland of the Hijaz<sup>3</sup> and, in another passage, adds that it has palm trees and flowing springs.<sup>4</sup> Naṣr locates Waddān between Hirshā and al-Abwā'.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥazm remarks that Waddān is the dwelling place of the descendants of Ibn Muṭi', the leader of the late seventh century rising of Medina against the Umayyads.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Idrisi borrows Ibn Ḥauqal's statement with some alterations, as Waddān is corrupted to Arādān. One error, however, he corrects. Both al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal assert that the land of B. Ja'far, Waddān, lies to the east of the Ḥasani land in Yanbu'. Al-Idrisi states that Waddān is south of the Ḥasani land, which is accurate,<sup>7</sup> but, in another MS., Waddān is located east of the Ḥasani land.<sup>8</sup>

The ancient Waddān lay near a village known as Mastūrah in that region.

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1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

2. Al-Maqdisi, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 182.

3. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, p. 154.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

5. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 151.

6. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamaharah*, p. 149.

7. Al-Idrisi, *op. cit.*, MS. 2222, fol. 88.

8. MS. 2221, fol. 133.

## WADI AL-QURĀ

Wādī al-Qurā is, in fact, a region of major importance. Ibn Khurradadbeh enumerates it among the dependencies of Medina,<sup>1</sup> implying that it is the point at which the Egyptian and the Syrian pilgrim caravans bound to Medina converge. He locates Wādī al-Qurā north of al-Ruḥbah (al-Ruḥbah) and south of al-Ḥijr, on the Syrian route and al-Baiḍā' on the Egyptian route.<sup>2</sup> Qudāmah states the same in both passages in which he refers to Wādī al-Qurā<sup>3</sup> and so does Ibn Roseh who differs from them only in calling the halt south of Wādī al-Qurā al-Ruḥbah instead of al-Ruḥbah.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh proffers the additional information that the Red Sea borders Wādī al-Qurā<sup>5</sup> which he describes as a northern dependency of Medina.<sup>6</sup> Lughdah locates Wādī al-Qurā north of al-Suqyā and south of al-ʿAwālī (— al-ʿUlā). He says that its palm groves belong to ʿUdhrah, Baliyy, Saʿd Allāh and Juhainah, but all the inhabitants take part in the exploitation of its gold, silver and copper mines. He mentions its market, al-Ṣaʿīd, and the two famous springs, Ghālib and Zayyān.<sup>7</sup> Wakiʿ quotes Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ to the

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 191, 248.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 183.

5. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

7. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-399.

effect that Wādī al-Qurā is a dependency of Medina. Its inhabitants are of heterogeneous origin.<sup>1</sup> He locates it south of al-Ḥijr and north of al-Suqyā on the Syrian pilgrim route.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī claims that the distance between Medina and Wādī al-Qurā equals seven days' journey.<sup>3</sup> This claim is contradicted by al-Hamdānī who states that it is five days' journey by the conventional route and takes only four days through Ḥiṣn B. 'Uthmān in Najd.<sup>4</sup> Al-Hamdānī is, however, inconsistent with regard to the inhabitants of Wādī al-Qurā as he states, in one passage, that it lies within the territories of 'Udhrah,<sup>5</sup> but counts it, in another place, among the territories of Sulaim and inhabited by them alone or together with some nomadic Anṣār, who may choose to leave Sulaim for a while for the grazing lands of Ṭayy. As to the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā', al-Hamdānī assesses it at full three days' journey.<sup>6</sup>

According to al-Iṣṭakhri, Wādī al-Qurā represents the northern limit of the Hijaz south of the Syrian desert,<sup>7</sup> a statement which is literally repeated by Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>8</sup> In describing Wādī al-Qurā, al-Iṣṭakhri says that, after Mecca and Medina among the Hijazi towns, it is second only to al-Yamāmah in size and production.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal's description is a literal repetition of these words.<sup>10</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri

1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, dol. 39.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 114.

3. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, p. 265.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 130.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

7. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

8. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

9. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

10. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

states that Wādī al-Qurā is one day's journey from al-Ḥijr.<sup>1</sup> This statement is borrowed by Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>2</sup> whom Abū al-Fidā' strongly and unjustifiably condemns on the ground that the distance is five days' journey.<sup>3</sup> Abū al-Fidā' is no doubt mistaken, as the journey takes no more than one day. Ibn Ḥauqal says that the land of the Ṭayy is parallel to Wādī al-Qurā,<sup>4</sup> a statement which could be traced in al-Iṣṭakhri's *Masālik*.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī says that Wādī al-Qurā is «the mart of both Syria and Iraq».<sup>6</sup> According to al-Muqaddasī «the province of Qurḥ is also called Wādī al-Qurā». He then describes its town as:

«the largest in al-Hijaz at the present day ( = 375 A.H. 985 A.D.) after Makkah, as well as the most flourishing and populous, and the most abounding with merchants, commerce and riches. It is commanded by an impregnable fortress, at the angle of which a castle rises. Villages encircle it on all sides and palm trees skirt it about; and, besides, it is possessed of very cheap dates and excellent bread and copious springs of water, pretty houses and busy markets. The town is surrounded by a ditch and has three gates covered with iron plates. The mosque is in the midst of the main streets of the town; there is a bone in the *mīhrāb* of this mosque

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1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

3. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 89.

4. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

5. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

6. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 97, the English translation, p. 148.

said to be the bone which spoke to the Prophet saying, 'Do not eat me, I am poisoned'. In fine it is a Syrian, an Egyptian, an Iraqi and a Hijazite town all in one, but the water is unwholesome and its dates of middling quality.»<sup>1</sup>

Al-Muqaddasi notices here, as he does in al-Juhfah,<sup>2</sup> that the public bath is outside the town. He points out that the inhabitants of Qurḥ (alias Wādī al-Qurā) are mainly Jews.<sup>3</sup> He lists al-Ḥijr, Badā Ya'qūb, Ḍabbah and Nabk as the towns of that region,<sup>4</sup> adding al-ʿAunīd as its port.<sup>5</sup>

According to al-Muqaddasi, the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Medina equals six days' journey,<sup>6</sup> but only four days' journey to Taimā' on the Syrian route. He also assesses the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and al-Manhab near Faīd at five days' journey. According to him, the route between Wādī al-Qurā and Basra leads through the Arab steppe indicating, in another place, that it is that of al-Manhab.<sup>7</sup> Al-Muqaddasi's Egyptian route does not pass through Wādī al-Qurā as he implies that it leads from al-Suqyā to Badā Ya'qūb, though he locates Wādī al-Qurā on the Egyptian route in another passage. Nevertheless, he makes it clear that that route, in his time, followed the coast.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Bakrī in his *Muʿjam* refers to 'Arrām when stating that

1. *Ibid.*, p. 84, the English translation, pp. 133-134.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 110, 112.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-252.



Wādī al-Qurā is one of the large dependencies of Medina and that it has, in turn, dependencies of its own,<sup>1</sup> a statement untraceable in 'Arrām's work. He quotes Ibn al-Kalbi when relating the historical changes in the population of Wādī al-Qurā which consisted, at first, mainly of Jews who came after Thamūd and cultivated the land, discovered its springs and planted palm trees. Then came some branches of Qudā'ah one of which, 'Udhrah, concluded an alliance with the Jews engaging to protect the latter in return for an annual levy with the ultimate result that all other branches were driven out. The 'Udhrah proved very effective in combating not only the Arab tribes but even Al-Nu'mān, the Ghassānī king, who tried to conquer Wādī al-Qurā and was driven back. With the emergence of Islam, the 'Udhrah tribe and some of the Jewish families there flocked to the Prophet and were treated with generosity.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī mentions that Qurḥ is the capital of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>3</sup> He cites no source, but Yāqūt quotes al-Suddi to the effect that Qurḥ is the capital and market of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>4</sup> Al-Bakrī relies on Ibn Ḥabīb for the information that Suqyā al-Jazl is a village in Wādī al-Qurā;<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt quotes both Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>6</sup> and Ibn al-Sikkīt<sup>7</sup> to that effect. Al-Bakrī also counts al-Muraisī' among the villages of Wādī al-Qurā.

In his *Masālik*, al Bakrī states that the ancient name of Wādī al-Qurā is Wajj.<sup>8</sup> He counts it, together with the land of al-Ḥijr, among the Arab lands south of Ailah adding

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 10.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 743.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 702.

7. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 104.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 54.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

that it was the land of Thamūd.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, al-Bakri, in another place, locates Wādī al-Qurā and al-Ḥijr between the Hijaz and Syria.<sup>2</sup> He regards al-Ḥaurā' as the port of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>3</sup> He also identifies Qurḥ with Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>4</sup>

The author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* places Wādī al-Qurā in the desert and describes it as a very prosperous borough.<sup>5</sup> Al-Idrisī mentions Wādī al-Qurā among the dependencies of Medina<sup>6</sup> and also among the halts on the overland route between Ailah and Medina where he locates it south of al-Baiḍā' and north of al-Ruḥbah (al-Ruḥbah).<sup>7</sup> As to the Syrian route, al-Idrisī mentions only al-Majz (al-Ḥijr) which he says is an impregnable fortress among mountains in the land of Thamūd. He locates it between al-Ḥanifiyyah (al-Junainah) in the north, and a small town on a small river in the south.<sup>8</sup> This small town seems to be Wādī al-Qurā as he locates it north of al-Ruḥbah. He also lists Wādī al-Qurā among the famous places in the fifth part of the third climate.<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī regards Wādī al-Qurā as one of six provincial capitals of Arabia in which (Arabian) music developed and which he also calls the market places of Arabia.<sup>10</sup>

Yāqūt attributes to al-Sakūnī the statement that the distance between Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā' is four days' journey.<sup>11</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, fol. 22.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 9.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 12.

5. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 148.

6. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 88.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 96.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 89.

10. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, vol. 3, p. 167.

11. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 76.

He also quotes Ibn al-Kalbī when relating that Wādī al-Qurā was a very fertile valley covered with villages from end to end, adding that it lay in ruins in his time with its water resources wasted, and that there was nobody to exploit them. Al-Sakūnī is quoted as saying that Mu‘āwiyah re-discovered eighty springs there.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hajari regards al-‘Urudah as half way between Taimā’ and Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt calls it al-‘Uradah and locates it between al-‘Ulā (in Wādī al-Qurā) and Taimā’.<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn al-Sikkīt Taimā’ is opposite Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>4</sup> Naṣr holds it to be at Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>5</sup> Al-Bīrūnī, locating it in the second climate, assesses the longitude of Wādī al-Qurā as 50° and its latitude at 26°.<sup>6</sup> Al-Maqdisī regards Wādī al-Qurā as one of the Hijazi rural towns.<sup>7</sup> Al-Bakrī claims that there is a Hijaz for Wādī al-Qurā and Taimā’.<sup>8</sup>

Al-Sam‘ānī claims that Wādī al-Qurā is an ancient town in the Hijaz towards Syria. He quotes Ibn Ḥibbān as saying that Wādī al-Qurā is Syrian territory. He also quotes Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz when regarding Wādī al-Qurā as the extreme northern limit of Arabia.<sup>9</sup> Al-Maqdisī states that Qurḥ is Wādī al-Qurā,<sup>10</sup> but Naṣr says that it is the market of Wādī

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 82.

2. Al-Hajari, *Nawādir*, part 1, fol. 133.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 3, p. 638.

4. Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Diwān ‘Urwah*, p. 62.

5. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 35.

6. Al-Bīrūnī, *Qānūn*, vol. 2, p. 551.

7. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.

8. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 914.

9. Al-Sam‘ānī, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

10. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 36.

al-Qurā.<sup>1</sup> Naṣr also places al-Ḥijr between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria,<sup>2</sup> adding that Wādī al-Qurā lies between Medina and Syria too.<sup>3</sup>

Muslim traditionists remained, for a long time, uncertain as regards the nature of Wādī al-Qurā and its relationship with the Hijaz. Some of them were of the opinion that 'Umar did not regard Wādī al-Qurā Hijazi territory, because its Jews, unlike those of Khaibar and Najrān, had not been deported.<sup>4</sup> Mālik even thought that neither Wādī al-Qurā nor Taimā' were in Arabia as 'Umar had desisted from deporting the local Jews.<sup>5</sup> It should, however, be borne in mind that he did so for political, not for religious reasons, as he left those Jews who were not strong enough in their own right quite undisturbed. Those who remained in Wādī al-Qurā were dependent on the Arab tribes who were too strongly committed to Islam, and too busy outside Arabia, to encourage their clients to cause any trouble there. Nevertheless, Wādī al-Qurā was regarded by many as situated outside the Arab territory.<sup>6</sup>

Wādī al-Qurā is still known as a prosperous region in the Northern Hijaz, though it is called al-'Ulā.

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1. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 122.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 51.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 123.

4. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 39.

5. Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, vol. 4, p. 247.

6. *Supra*, pp. 190-219.

## AL-WAḤIDAH

The only three Arab geographers of the period under consideration to mention al-Waḥidah are Ibn Khurradadhbeh,<sup>1</sup> Ibn Rosteh,<sup>2</sup> and al-Idrisī,<sup>3</sup> who state that it is a dependency of Medina. However, the poet Ibn Harmah, a native of that area, trying to trace his love, speaks of al-Waḥidah and al-Ghamr.<sup>4</sup> Naṣr describes it as a place in the Hijaz without reference to its status.<sup>5</sup> Confusion is to be avoided with al-Waḥid which is referred to by al-Bakrī in his *Muʿjam*.<sup>6</sup>

Al-Marzūqī, apparently relying on al-Aṣmaʿī, says that a few years before Islam there was, at the fair of ʿUkāz, an exceptionally large gathering of Arabs who had come to barter their camels, cattle and money for goods from Egypt, Syria and Iraq. It happened on that occasion that Maʿmar, of B. ʿUdrah, took good care of ʿAmr, of Sulaim, who told his two sons that he had never seen such kindness and asked their permission to recompense him. Having obtained it, he asked for paper and a notary to whom he dictated this very detailed document:

«This is what was presented by ʿAmr b. al-Sharīd al-Sulamī to Maʿmar b. al-Ḥarith b. al-Khaibarī b.

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.      2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

3. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 36.

4. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 908.

5. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 151.

6. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1372.

Ẓubyān b. Ḥinn b. Ḥizām al-‘Udhri, namely his property at al-Wahīdah which is one of the *makhālif* (dependencies) of Yathrib, with its abandoned habitations, its living quarters, ruins, pens, grazings, terraced fields, ravines, hillock grazing lands, highgrowing plants (*qaswar*), ‘ajram and *bashām* with both first and last products thereof, figs, *shīḥ*, and *arāk*, *ujzah* and uncultivated lands, hillocks, small lavafields, its donkeys and all things animate and inanimate, all things wet by rain or growing on land, belong to Ma‘mar to the exclusion of ‘Amr, given from the bottom of his heart with no disability to his enjoyment and without hint as to the source of ownership, totally detached from any claim arising from ineradicable friendship which time will not efface, ever renewed, till the end of time and the extinguishing of the stars while day and night succeed one another and the mountains and great hills stand. This was inscribed 35 years after the year of the elephant.»

Then he sent the deed, together with some Yemenite presents to Ma‘mar. Al-Aṣma‘ī says that the descendants of Ma‘mar remained in possession of this property up to his own time.<sup>1</sup>

1. Al-Marzūqī, *al-Azminah wal-Amkinah*, vol. 2, p. 169.

*shīḥ* : a kind of wormwood (Musil, *Northern Negd*, p. 362).

*bashām* and *arāk*: a shrub of which tooth-sticks are made (A.A.Bevan, *al-Nakā'id*, vol. 3 pp. 276, 289 Glossary).

‘ajram : a shrub with long, stiff branches and solid needle shaped leaves. (Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 121).

*ujzah*: obscure. It may be a misreading of *Ukhdhah*: pond.

## AL-WAḤḤ

Al-Wḥḥ, an important town on the Red Sea, has received very little attention from the Arab geographers. Al-Ya'qūbī locates it on the coastal pilgrim route from Ailah to Mecca without proffering any information about its nature. He merely describes it as the first way-station after Ḥubah (Ḍubā) to the north on the route from Madyan to Mecca. He places Munkhūs to the immediate south.<sup>1</sup>

Qudāmah, apparently following al-Ya'qūbī, locates it on the same route, but instead of listing it just after Ḥubah, places 'Aunīd between it and Ḥubah (Ḍubā).<sup>2</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī twice mentions that al-Ruḥbah is the halt to the north of Munkhūs.<sup>3</sup> It is more likely that al-Ruḥbah here is a corruption of al-Waḥḥ. Wakī' also seems to misread al-Waḥḥ as al-Rajjah. According to him, it is situated south of al-'Aunīd and north of Munkhūs.<sup>4</sup>

The name al-Waḥḥ might have been a later development of Waḥḥ by which the area of Wādi al-Qurā was once known.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 341.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 112.

4. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 22.

## YANBU'

'Arrām, who begins his work on Tihāmah with Mt. Raḍwā, locates both Raḍwā and Yanbu' in the extreme north of Tihāmah. According to him, Yanbu' is «situated to the right of Raḍwā for those descending from Medina to the sea at a distance of one night's journey from Raḍwā». The italicised words, when omitted, make the definition rather less hazy. 'Arrām describes Yanbu' as a large and gorgeous «village» with a *minbar*; it has rich springs of fresh water; its population consists of Anṣār, Juhainah and Laith; its valley, Yalyal, empties into Ghaīqah. According to him, the waters of al-Ṣafrā' abut upon Yanbu'. As regards Mt. Raḍwā, 'Arrām locates it one day's journey from Yanbu'; two days from the sea and seven days from Medina; to the right of the Medina route and to the left of the Burairā' route in the direction of Mecca. Opposite to Raḍwā from which it is separated by the Mu'riqah route, lies Mt. 'Azwar at a distance of about a race course. The waters of these two mountains abut upon Ghaīqah whose valley empties into the sea. He estimates the distance between Mts. Raḍwā and 'Azwar, and the two Mts. of Thāfil at two days journey, on one occasion, and seven days on another.<sup>1</sup>

These are the statements in which 'Arrām is alleged to have

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1. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-398.



spoken of Mts. Raḍwā and 'Azwar, and the region of Yanbu'. So hopelessly erroneous are most of these statements that the situation need not be aggravated by allowing for a misunderstanding on Yalyal by al-Bakrī and the editor of 'Arrām. According to 'Arrām,

«the valley of Yalyal empties into the sea 'there' through the left bank of Ghaiqah in the direction of Medina to the right of travellers from Medina to Mecca. And to the left of travellers from Syria to Mecca... »

« ووادى يليل يصب في البحر ثم من عدوة غيقة اليسرى مما يلي المدينة عن  
يمين المصعد الى مكة من المدينة. وعن يسار المصعد من الشام الى مكة ... »

According to al-Bakrī<sup>1</sup> and the editor, it reads:

«and the valley of Yalyal empties into the sea. "And" to the left bank of Ghaiqah in the direction of Medina... lie two Mts. of Thāfil.»

This misreading is not the responsibility of 'Arrām's scribes, who are to blame for a sufficiency of other errors. The point here is the alteration of ثم *thamma* - there - to ثم *thumma* - and -. Consequently, al-Bakrī voices his only criticism of 'Arrām in the person of his transmitter, al-Sakūnī, for misdirecting the waters of Yalyal to the sea, without letting them first abut upon Ghaiqah.

There are, however, the numerous and gross mistakes of 'Arrām's scribes which go back to before the eleventh century in which the MSS were apparently laden with what their copyists and readers think to be corrections.

1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 356.

There is good reason to assume that these mis-statements are due to a misplacement of some folios. How else could 'Arrām, a native of the region and an acknowledged authority on its geography, have misplaced many famous localities such as al-Ṣafrā', Kulayyah, al-Juḥfah, Khulais, the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir and Mts. Raḍwā and 'Azwar and the two Thāfils. As regards localities placed by 'Arrām in the region of Yanbu', it is necessary to point out his mistakes and rectify some of them.

the most lasting of these mistakes is the assumption that 'Azwar lies at about a race course from Raḍwā which is no doubt a result of the misplacement of folios in an early MS., as 'Azwar should be situated far to the south near al-Abwā'. Indeed, it is 'Azwar but not Raḍwā, which lies to the right of the Medina-Mecca route. Al-Burairā' is situated between al-Abwā' and Waddān (near Mastūrah) and cannot be connected with Raḍwā. However, Raḍwā cannot separate the Burairā' route (the coastal route from al-Juḥfah to Badr) from the Medina-Mecca route as Raḍwā lies too far from the Medina-Mecca route to be situated there. Though this erroneous location of 'Azwar has been unquestioningly accepted by al-Bakrī, Naṣr and Yāqūt, all three register other references, mainly in verse, which indicate the right location.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hamdānī, whose list of the dependencies of Mecca does not contain localities in the north beyond the region of al-Juḥfah, regards 'Azwar as one of these dependencies.<sup>2</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī, who is the most reliable source for the location of places between Yanbu' and Mecca, seems to

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1. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 656, 1233, 1280; Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 75-76, 114; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, pp. 669, 727.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 177.

have located 'Azwar accurately. It is almost certain that he locates it between Mt. al-Ṭawāl in the north and Dhirwah in the south. Both localities are situated in the region of al-Abwā' and al-Juḥfah.<sup>1</sup> The Hijazi poets such as Kuthayyir, al-Aḥwaṣ, al-Muzarrid and Ibn Harmah also place it near al-Juḥfah. 'Azwar has never been mentioned in any early Arabic poem in one breath with Raḍwā to suggest their proximity. It is 'Abāthir which is connected with Raḍwā.

Another mistake is the statement that the Mu'riqah route separates Raḍwā from 'Azwar both of which are lofty mountains. 'Arrām describes the Mu'riqah route as a short cut to Mecca, Medina and Syria. This route was used by the ancient Quraishī caravans between Mecca and Syria via Raḍwā, al-ʿIṣ, Dhul-Marwah and Ailah. The Medina-Syria route used to pass through Dhū Khushub and Dhul-Marwah. The Mu'riqah route cannot represent a short-cut from Medina to Mecca or Syria via Raḍwā and al-ʿIṣ. This statement is likely to be a mixture of two statements, one on the Mu'riqah route and the other on the pass of Hirshā. The Mu'riqah route separates Raḍwā not from 'Azwar, but from 'Irḍah عرضة which lies close to it. Since the Mu'riqah route does not represent a short cut for the Medinese, the description should be taken to refer to the Hirshā route which is used by these caravans in time of security and which is a short cut.

A third erroneous statement is that the waters of Raḍwā and 'Azwar abut upon Ghaiqah. In fact, the waters of Raḍwā and 'Irḍah abut upon the sea north of Yanbu', and thus north of Ghaiqah. The waters of 'Azwar abut upon the sea

1. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Jibāl*, p. 164.

far from Ghaiqah to the south near Waddān.

A fourth mis-statement is that Raḍwā lies west of al-Ṣafrā' whose waters abut upon Yanbu'. Actually, Raḍwā lies north of al-Ṣafrā' whose waters abut upon Ghaiqah. The altitude between Yanbu' and al-Ṣafrā' prevents the waters of al-Ṣafrā' from abutting upon Yanbu'. Equally wrong is the assumption that Yalyal is the valley of Yanbu', since it is, in fact, the valley of al-Ṣafrā'.

A fifth error is the estimate of the distance from Raḍwā and 'Azwar to the two Mts Thāfil at two days' journey, in one passage, and seven days in another. This is clear evidence of the alteration to which 'Arrām's work has been subjected. These estimates cannot be accepted except by applying the former to Raḍwā and the latter to 'Azwar. This also applies to the claim that the distance from Raḍwā to Medina is seven days.

There is also the assumption that the waters of the two Mts Thāfil abut upon Ghaiqah, which is untrue as they are situated too far in the south to send their waters to Ghaiqah or indeed anywhere north of Waddān.

These mistakes and many others have penetrated into 'Arrām's work and been accepted by al-Bakrī, Naṣr and Yāqūt. They are also preserved in the available MS. of this work. Except for the above-mentioned groundless criticism of al-Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, none of these authors or any other author whom we know of has rectified or even pointed out 'Arrām's mistakes. It is because 'Arrām is so important an author that it is necessary to list his errors.

Wakī<sup>1</sup> and Ibn al-Kalbī,<sup>2</sup> followed by Naṣr,<sup>3</sup> regard Yanbu' as a dependency of Medina. It does not figure as such in the lists of the «official» geographers, which is not surprising as they seem to speak only of what was listed in their archives. Ibn al-Kalbī claims that Ruhāt lies in the region of Yanbu' which is inadvertent, since it is obvious from his statement that Ruhāt is inhabited by B. Hudhail whose lands have always been around Mecca. On another occasion, he places Ruhāt in the valley of Nakhlah which is inhabited by B. Hudhail and situated north of Mecca. Ibn Duraid seems to be the source of al-Bakrī's erroneous location of Yanbu' between Mecca and Medina.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Sikkīt describes Yanbu', whose mountain is Raḍwā, as the valley of 'Alī which is true, since 'Alī did a great deal to develop it, and some of his descendants have lived there for the last thirteen centuries. Ibn al-Sikkīt, on the other hand, locates al-Ḥaurā' opposite to Yanbu' whose port he claims it to be which is incorrect.<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ of the 9th century estimates the number of springs of Yanbu' at ninety-nine.<sup>6</sup> This rose by the 12th century to 170.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Sa'd,<sup>8</sup> followed by al-Mas'ūdī<sup>9</sup> and al-Bakrī,<sup>10</sup> places al-'Ushairah in the valley of Yanbu'. Al-Mas'ūdī also seems to rely on Ibn Sa'd in estimating the distance between Medina and

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1. Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 40.

2. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, pp. 9-10, 57.

3. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 154.

4. See Ibn Duraid, *al-Ḥamharah*, vol. 1, p. 317; Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1402.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 474, 1310.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 656.

7. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 1039.

8. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 4.

9. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 236.

10. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 154.

al-‘Ushairah at nine *barids*. In his *Mūrūj*, al-Mas‘udi locates al-‘Ushairah in the bed of the valley of Yanbu‘ which is correct.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Hamdānī is the only Arab geographer of that period to mention «Yanbu‘ al-Nukhail» in the lower reaches of Yanbu‘. Yanbu‘ al-Nukhail may be identical with al-Bakrī’s Nujail<sup>2</sup> and Yāqūt’s Nukhail which the latter describes as a spring near Medina.<sup>3</sup> Both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt rely on one verse by Kuthayyir. It is, however, not identical with «Yanbu‘ al-Nakhl» since this term means the whole valley of Yanbu‘ and is of recent date. Unlike ‘Arrām, al-Hamdānī regards Yanbu‘ as part of the Hijaz, though one of his poets seems to regard it as the northern frontier of the Hijaz.<sup>4</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī<sup>5</sup> regards Yanbu‘ as a town of Mecca and a dependency of Medina. He describes it as a large and splendid town, with an impregnable wall and a copious supply of water, more flourishing than Medina and with larger palm groves. Its citadel is well-built and its market brisk, the majority of its dealers coming from Medina. It has two gates with the mosque standing close to one of them. It is dominated by the descendants of al-Ḥasan - b. ‘Alī -. Ra’s al-‘Ain is twelve miles from Yanbu‘. Ra’s al ‘Ain lies at one day’s journey from Yanbu‘. The distance from both al-Jār and Badr to Yanbu‘ is two days’ journey. Al-Muqaddasī does not regard Yanbu‘ as a halt on the Egyptian

1. Al-Mas‘udī, *Mūrūj*, vol. 4, p. 142.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 1300.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam*, vol. 4, p. 770.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, pp. 171, 181, 219.

5. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 83, 98, 101, 102, 107, 110.

coastal route for which he has al-‘Ushairah. Speaking of the specialities of Arabia, al-Muqaddasī mentions the henna and whetstone of Yanbu‘, and the gold mines between Yanbu‘ and al-Marwah. He is not appreciative of the water of Yanbu‘ which he describes as notoriously bad. Al-Muqaddasī refers to the quarrels between the Sunnis and Shi‘is of Yanbu‘.

In locating al-‘Ushairah between Yanbu‘ and the sea, al-Muqaddasī is less inaccurate than al-Iṣṭakhri who locates it between Yanbu‘ and al-Marwah. In fact, al-‘Ushairah lies in the lower reaches of Yanbu‘, near the spring of al-Barakah.<sup>1</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>3</sup> describe Yanbu‘ as a citadel with palm groves, water and farms. They mention that the inalienable properties of ‘Alī are controlled by his descendants. They situate Mt. Raḍwā near Yanbu‘ from which whetstone is carried «to all regions». This remark, coupled with that of al-Bakrī about whetstone being carried from Khaibar, seems to have driven al-Idrisī to the erroneous location of Khaibar near Raḍwā. Al-Idrisī also changes Ibn Ḥauqal’s statement on having seen Raḍwā from Yanbu‘ looking like a green meadow *ورأيت من ينبع كخضرة البقل* into *ورأسه من ينابيع الماء به كخضرة البقل* «the fords has rendered its summit like a green meadow». Apart from this, al-Idrisī uses Ibn Ḥauqal’s words in describing Yanbu‘ and Raḍwā.<sup>4</sup> Qudāmah mentions Yanbu‘ only in connection with the Egyptian coastal pilgrim route, and gives no in-

1. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Bilād Yanbu‘*, p. 201.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

3. 16n Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

4. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 88.

formation beyond locating it south al-Aḥsā' and north Mas'ūlān.<sup>1</sup>

The Yanbu' of which our geographers speak is what we now call «Yanbu' al-Nakhl» because «Yanbu'» at present applies to the sea port of the same name.

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1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, 191.



**PART TWO**

**THE PILGRIM ROUTES  
IN THE NORTHERN HIJAZ**



## I — AILAH-MEDINA INLAND ROUTE

Table I (pp. 327-8)

Ibn Khurradadhbēh<sup>1</sup> is the first author to record the way-stations between Ailah and Medina which, according to him, number fourteen. It is noteworthy that he offers no information about water or other requirements on that route. Nor does he give the mileage between the way-stations. Musil<sup>2</sup> believes the absence of mileage to be due to the lack of postal services on this route, and this is quite likely as it was not until later that the Hijaz was officially subordinated to Egypt. It is almost certain that the route between Egypt and the Hijaz was assessed in miles in the early days of the Fatimids when Cairo replaced Baghdad as the administrator of the Hijaz.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khurradadhbēh names all the way-stations between Ailah and Medina with the exception of one which he situates between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah. According to him, the route led through Wādī al-Qurā which suggests that the pilgrims of his time used to follow the ancient caravan routes. Otherwise, pilgrims would have avoided the longer journey through Wādī al-Qurā, as it was easier and shorter

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbah, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

2. Musil, *The Northern Hegāz*, p. 321.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, pp. 422-3.

to follow the valley of al-Jazl. Indeed, Wākī', followed by al-Asadī,<sup>1</sup> states that the junction where the Egyptian route converged with the Syrian route was al-Suqyā. It is safe to assume that what Wākī' has in mind is the actual route followed by the pilgrims of his time, whereas ibn-Khurradadhbēh may rely on some older sources concerned with trade or military interests. Though Ibn Ḥabīb situates al-Suqyā, on Wādī al-Qurā the two can by no means be equated since al-Suqyā lies, as its full name Suqyā al-Jazl suggests, on Wādī al-Jazl. Wādī al-Qurā is an extensive region, but the name, when applied to a way-station, usually refers to Qurḥ, the capital of that region. Wākī' enumerates fifteen halts on the inland route between Ailah and Medina.<sup>2</sup> He mentions Qālis as the halt between Madyan and al-Agharr; 'Anāb, between al-Suqyā and al-Marwah; and al-Arāk as the halt between Dhū Khushub and Medina. Apart from enumerating the halts, Wākī' proffers no information except that al-Suqyā is the meeting point of the Syrian and Egyptian routes. He mentions both the inland and the coastal Egyptian routes. Wākī' is the only geographer to state that the Egyptian route bifurcates at Ailah after which the first halt on the inland route is Sharaf al-Ba'l, and on the coastal route 'Ainūnah.

Ibn Rosteh<sup>3</sup> follows Ibn Khurradadhbēh to the letter with regard to the inland route between Ailah and Medina, with the sole exception that he substitutes Sharaf al-Naml for Ḥaql and correctly changes Ruḥbah to al-Ruḥbah. While

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1234.

2. Wākī', *Manāzil*, fol 114

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op cit.*, p. 183.

the name Ruḥaibah is probably attributable to a scribal error, it is interesting to note that in mentioning Ḥaql as the first halt south of Ailah, Ibn Khurradadhbeh was alone among the Arab geographers for nearly two centuries when the name was revived by al-Bakrī<sup>1</sup> and, a century later, by al-Idrīsī.<sup>2</sup> As to Sharaf al-Naml, Ibn Rosteh probably borrows from al-Ya'qūbī<sup>3</sup> who uses the name Sharaf al-Ba'l. Al-Ya'qūbī differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh on the number of way stations on that route : the latter records fourteen, but the former mentions only eight. The six way-stations omitted by al-Ya'qūbī are : Ḥaql, which he replaces with Sharaf al-Ba'l; the unnamed station between al-Aghrā' and al-Kilābah; al-Kilābah itself, the latter two halts being replaced by one called Qālis; al-Sarḥatain; al-Baiḍā'; Wādī al-Qurā; al-Ruḥaibah, all the four being replaced by al-Suqyā alone; al-Marr; al-Suwaidā', with no replacement for the last two. Thus al-Ya'qūbī leaves out nine of the fourteen halts mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh and introduces only three new names instead. Al-Ya'qūbī's Qālis is not mentioned by any other geographer mapping this route except Wakī', but al-Suqyā is mentioned by Wakī' and revived later by al-Muqaddasī and al-Bakrī, albeit it is mentioned only once by the former and only in one book of the latter.

Al-Ya'qūbī differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh also in other points, especially in proffering information about the major halts. He mentions that a Syrian route to Mecca leads

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 76.
  2. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 88-89.
  3. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 330, 340-1.

through Palestine to Ailah, where it converges with the Egyptian route. He also records a coastal route between Ailah and Mecca, including information on some intervening halts. Unfortunately, no such information is provided on the inland route beyond Madyan. This is difficult to account for, unless one assumes that Egyptians preferred the coastal to the inland route to Medina. Al-Ya'qūbī had strong connections with the contemporary ruling dynasty of Egypt, the Tūlūnids for whom he worked; and was too well versed in administrative matters to overlook the importance of watering places. This suggests that the inland route was almost disregarded, as it was natural for those concerned with pilgrimage to follow the coastal route even if they intended to visit Medina. Qudāmah<sup>1</sup> seems to follow Ibn Khurradadbeh literally, except for the substitution of Sharaf al-Ba'ī for Ḥaql, and the omission of al-Marr. Qudāmah also mentions a coastal route between Ailah and Medina which suggests that that route had been finally recognized by the administration of Baghdad.

Al-Muqaddāsī<sup>2</sup> gives more than one version of this route, but the accounts are all incomplete. His sources are difficult to trace. He seems to follow Ibn Rosteh in one version, but none of his predecessors can be made responsible for the others, though he mentions al-Suqyā which occurs in al-Ya'qūbī. It is surprising that al-Muqaddasī should have had first-hand knowledge of that route since his accounts of it are conflicting. He states once very clearly that this route was derelict in his time, and uses the name Sharaf

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1. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-1.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 109-112.

al-Baʿl in one account and Sharaf Dhul-Naml in another. Besides, he locates Wādī al-Qurā, named Qurḥ in another passage, to the north of al-Suqyā on both the Egyptian and the Syrian routes. However, he states on another occasion that al-Suqyā is at the junction of the two routes which contradicts his own lists of the way stations. It also indicates some uncertainty on his part that he should try four times to record what he believed to be a definitive list of the way stations, but uses different names and totals of halts at each attempt. He states that there were «several» routes between Wailah (Ailah) and Mecca, whereas in fact there were two only. This discrepancy may be due to variations in the sources at his disposal. Moreover, he records in a matter-of-fact tone that the route of the «western» pilgrims to Mecca leads inland through Medina, but soon adds that they have «several» routes which he prefers to his own experience. Al-Muqaddasī also records the coastal route between Ailah and Medina, without proffering any information on the conditions prevailing there while enumerating the way-stations. However, he does describe the major towns when he refers to the region. He is quite unaware of the mileage on the Egyptian route or, for that matter, the Syrian route, which indicates that they had not been measured at the time his work was compiled. Nevertheless, he states that the three postal routes between the Hijaz and Syria during the Umayyad period were known to have led through Taimā'. His location of al-ʿAunīd on the inland route cannot be accepted since he himself describes it as the port of Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>1</sup> The information inherited from his predecessors appears in al-Muqaddasī's account, enriched

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1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

with explanations of the names of some halts on the inland route. He connects Badā with Ya'qūb and al-Suqyā with Yazīd, a name which, though borrowed by al-Bakrī, is probably a corruption of الجزل al-Jazl, the valley in which al-Suqyā is situated and to which it is usually assigned. Al-Kilābah figures as al-Kilāyah, Dhul-Marwah as al-Marwah, and al-Aghrā' as al-A'rā'.

Al-Bakrī's<sup>1</sup> account seems even more confused than al-Muqaddasī's. Not only are most of the names given in corrupted forms, but al-Bakrī mentions eleven way-stations between Ailah and Medina, three of which are between Madyan and Ailah, instead of the one listed by the other geographers. The first seven halts of his route are definitely part of the coastal route and represent less than a third of that route. His predecessors name Madyan as the point at which the inland route parts from the coastal route, but al-Bakrī's route keeps to the coast as far as Ḍubā. This new arrangement requires that four halts on Ibn Khurradadhbēh's route between Madyan and Badā should be omitted and replaced by three coastal ones. Al-Bakrī follows al-Ya'qūbī in omitting the way-stations between Badā and al-Suqyā which, according to al-Muqaddasī should be three, but adds al-Suwaidā' which is not mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī. Like al-Ya'qūbī and al-Muqaddasī, he fails to mention al-Marr and that the distance between al-Suwaidā' and al-Marwah equals a journey of two days as stated by al-Muqaddasī. Apparently, al-Bakrī, in his *Masālik*, relies on al-Muqaddasī with regard to the names Suqyā Yazīd and Badā Ya'qūb because he refers to them, in his *Mu'jam*,

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 76.



as Suqyā al-Jazl<sup>1</sup> and Badā<sup>2</sup>.

Al-Bakrī seems to have consulted more than one source and relies on several accounts. This is borne out by the fact that he assesses the distance between Ailah and Madyan as four days' journey, whereas he refers to the distance between Badā and al-Suqyā, which is longer, as one day's journey. An innovation is the location of three halting places on the route between Ailah and Madyan instead of one, which may point to a reduction of the distance covered in a single journey. There is no explanation for the statement that the inland route went as far as Ḍubā on the coast, unless one assumes that it is an attempt to reconcile the coastal route with the inland route, since there would be no point in going to Ḍubā with the intention of turning east in order to reach the inland route. Al-Bakrī is the only Arab geographer to call the inland route from Egypt to Medina «al-Jāddah الجادة» = the conventional route, which suggests that he knew of the existence of the coastal route though he does not mention the latter. In fact, this conventional route was derelict in his time. In al-Bakrī's text, the distance between some of the way-stations seem to be shorter than his predecessors maintain, at least as far as Ḍubā, between which and Ailah he names six halts, whereas between Ḍubā and Medina he names only five way-stations, which is improbable as the section between Ḍubā and Medina represents more than two thirds of the whole.

Al-Bakrī describes both al-Suwaidā' and Ailah as towns, which implies that he looks upon the other places as minor

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 743.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

halts. The MSS of his *Masālik* are full of corruptions of the names of these stations. Ailah is referred to as الأملة Anmulah; Badā as نبا Nadā; al-Ṣilā as الصلابة al-Ṣalāh; and Suqyā as سقي Suqyu. The identification of al-Ṣilā with al-Nabk is, however, accurate. Dhū Khashub is called Naqā Dhū Khushub, a name which is not to be found in any other source. The same might be said of al-Bakrī's account as a whole. It cannot be traced to any available source before him which we know of. Nor can his knowledge of the region always be accepted, as his account is contradicted by information he himself gives in his *Muʿjam*. There he describes some of the way-stations as mere «places», states that Badā lies between the Egyptian route and the Syrian route, and makes the same assertion of Shaghḥ<sup>1</sup>. Like al-Muqaddasī, he proffers no information about the way-stations while mapping the route, but details of some of the way-stations are found in a separate place.

Al-Idrīsī<sup>2</sup> records two routes between Ailah and Medina, the coastal route and the inland route. His inland route is identical with that of Ibn Khurradadbeh except for the omission of two way-stations: Badā and al-Sarḥatain. He seems to consider it the main route, with the coastal route as the second choice, though he does not record any information on the inland route, but includes some data of this kind when discussing particular places regionally. Most of the names of the way-stations are recorded in corrupted forms: Ḥaml حمل for Ḥaql; Ankilāyah انكلاية for al-Kilābah; Saʿb سعب for Shaghḥ; al-Wujaih الوجيه for al-Ruḥaibah;

1. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

2. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 88-89.

Abū al-Marw أبو المرو for Dhul-Marwah; Maryam مريم for al-Marr; Dhū Shu'ab ذو شعب for Dhū Khushub. The last four way-stations, however, are also mentioned on the Syrian route where their names are correct. Al-Idrīsī does not record the mileage when he maps the Egyptian route, probably because there is no mention of it in the sources available to him.

Neither al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>1</sup> nor Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>2</sup> gives any list of the way-stations between Ailah and Medina, though each of them points out that there is such a list in existence. The information they provide coincides almost in its entirety. Egypt is separated by twenty days' journey from Medina; the Egyptian route and that of the Maghribīs converge with the Palestinian route at Ailah; after Madyan the route bifurcates, so that the inland route leads on through Shaghḥ and Badā, and al-Marwah to Medina, while the other follows the coastline to converge with the inland route at al-Juḥfah. Ibn Ḥauqal describes the relationship between the Egyptian and the Maghribī caravans on the pilgrim route. In his earlier version, he states that the two parties do not encamp together, so that one of them must leave before the other arrives. Later, however, he says that the Maghribīs form part of the Egyptian caravan, though they sometimes prefer to occupy a separate camp.

According to Yāqūt<sup>3</sup>, the route from Egypt to Ailah is also recorded by al-Muhallabī. There is little doubt that this route did not stop at Ailah, but extended to Medina or Mecca.

1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-8.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam.*, vol. 1, pp. 422-3.

Though there is no mention of it in the available sources, the extant part of al-Muhallabī's account of it indicates a further development in the relationship between Cairo and Arabia. For the first time, the mileage system is adopted at some stages of this route, as from Cairo to Qulzum. Yāqūt says that Ḥaql is separated from Ailah by sixteen miles<sup>1</sup> and that Dubā lies at seventy miles' distance from Badā<sup>2</sup>. Though Yāqūt does not quote his source, it seems most likely that this piece of information stems from al-Muhallabī's *'Azīzī*. Al-Muhallabī seems to follow al-Ya'qūbī in providing information about some halts while mapping the route.

This inland route from Medina to Ailah is identical with the old Mu'riqah route used by the Quraishī caravans between Mecca and Syria or Egypt. The Quraishī caravan did not pass through Medina, as generally accepted, but followed the Mecca-Medina route as far as Badr, 148 km from Medina, and hence proceeded through the valley of Yanbu' and the valley of al-'Iṣ northward to al-Marwah and Wādī al-Qurā. This is confirmed by the fact that the point assigned by the Prophet to the Syrians to start their pilgrimage rites was different from that of pilgrims emerging from Medina. This is also borne out by the fact that when the Prophet decided to surprise this caravan in the year 2 A.H. (March 624), he obtained the necessary information by sending some scouts to al-Marwah, after having tried to surprise this caravan at Buwāṭ between al-'Iṣ and al-Marwah six months before<sup>3</sup>. It was often seen at Badr. When the Prophet turned away some of his Companions in accordance with

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 299.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 464.

3. Al-Wāqidī, *Op. cit.*, P. 12.

a treaty between him and Quraish, these Companions camped at al-ʿIṣ and molested the Quraishī caravan<sup>1</sup>. Abū Yūsuf's statement that they camped at Dhul-Ḥulaifah<sup>2</sup> contradicts all reliable sources and, anyway, the caravan could not have passed there for reasons of security since Dhul-Ḥulaifah lies six miles from Medina.

It is true that most of the above information concerns the Syrian route, but it is the Ailah branch and the branch led to Egypt. Besides, al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah refers to an Egypt-bound caravan following the same route<sup>3</sup>. It is called al-Muʿriqah as against al-Tabūkiyyah which leads to Syria through Tabūk<sup>4</sup>. It was by these two that the Muslim armies went to Syria. Throughout the 7th century, the route from Medina to Syria often led through al-Marwah and Ailah, which cannot but mean that the Egyptian caravan followed an inland route since there is no mention of a coastal route from Egypt until two centuries later. This is also the implied opinion of Ibn Khurradadhbeh in the 9th century. It was Wakiʿ, al-Asadī and al-Yaʿqūbī who mentioned an alternative coastal route at the end of the 9th century. At the time of al-Muqaddasī, a century later, the inland route had been deserted by the pilgrims. Forty years later, in 415 A.H. (1025), the governor of Wādī al-Qurā, ʿAbd Allāh b. Idris,

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1. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 324.

2. Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj*, p. 130.

3. Al-Wāqidī, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

4. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, vol. 4, p. 573) states that it was called al-Murʿiqah after Iraq which cannot be accepted, since the route to Iraq was called al-ʿUnsulain (*Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 736). Al-Muʿriqah may be derived from *al-ʿaraq* — sweat from which the camels suffer on this difficult route.

a Tālibī, invaded Ailah, and this led to his dismissal from the governorship of Wādī al-Qurā. There he defied the authority of Egypt and was supported by the local tribes<sup>1</sup>. This incident is a clear indication of the conditions prevailing on the inland route at that time and an overwhelming reason for the pilgrims to prefer the coastal route. As regards the mention of this inland route by al-Bakrī (1094) and al-Idrīsī (1154), it is clear that they merely quote the information recorded by previous geographers. So does, presumably, al-Muqaddasī who mentions this inland route though it was he who stated that it was no longer in use.

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1. Al-Maqrīsī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 1. p. 183.

TABLE I : Ailah-Medina inland route

Ibn Khurradadbeh	Wakī'	al-Ya'qūbi	Ibn Rosteh
Ailah	Ailah	Ailah	Ailah
Ḥaql	Saraf(Sharaf) al-Ba'1	Sharaf al- Ba'1	Sharaf al-Naml
Madyan	Madyan	Madyan	Madyan
al-Aghrā'	Qālis	al-Aghrā'	al-Aghrā'
«a station»	al-A'arr(al- Agharr)	Qālis	«a station»
al-Kilābah	al-Kalābinah (al-Kilābab)	Shaghb	al-Kilābah
Shaghb	Badā	Badā	Shaghb
Badā	al-Shaghab	al-Suqyā	Badā
al-Sarḥatain	(al- Sarḥatain)	Dhul-Marwah	al-Sarḥatain
al-Baiḍā'	al-Syfyā (al-Suqyā)	Dhū Khushub	Wādi al-Qurā
Wādi al-Qurā	(and then with the	Medina	al-Ruḥbah
al-Ruḥaibah	Syrian pil- grims to:)		Dhul-Marwah
Dhul-Marwah			al-Marr
al-Marr	'Anāb		al-Suwaidā'
al-Suwaidā'	al-Marwah		Dhū Khushub
Dhū Khushub	al-Mayy (al-Marr)		Medina
Medina	al-Suwaidā' al-Arāk (Uwāl)		

	Dhū Khushub Medina		
Qudāmah	al-Muqaddasī	al-Bakrī	al-Idrīsī
Ailah	Wailah	Anmulah	Ailah
Sharaf al-Baʿl	Sharaf Dhul Naml	Ḥaql	Ḥamal
Madyan	Madyan	Wādī al- Ghurāb	Madyan
al-Aghrāʾ	al-Aʿrāʾ	Ashrāf al-Baʿl	al-Aʿdāʾ
«a station» al-Kilābah Shaghb	«a station» al-Kilāyah Shaghb	Madyan ʿAinūnah al-Nabk and al-Ṣilā	«a station» Ankilāyah Saʿb
Badā	Badā	Ḍubā	al-Baiḍāʾ
al-Sarḥatain	al-Sarḥatain	Bāda Yaʿqub	Wādī al-Qurā
Wādī al-Qurā	Wādī al-Qurā	Suqyā Yazīd	al-Ruḥaibah
al-Ruḥaibah	II	al-Marwah	Dhul-Marwah
Dhul-Marwah		al-Suwaidāʾ	Marr
al-Suwaidāʾ	al-Aʿrāʾ	Naqā Dhu- Khushub	al-Suwaidāʾ
Dhu Khushub Medina	al-Kilāyah Shaghb Badā al-Sarḥatain al-Baiḍāʾ Qurḥ Suqyā Yazīd		Dhu Khushub



## II— AILAH-MEDINA OR MECCA COASTAL ROUTE

Table II (pp. 335-6)

According to al-Samhūdī<sup>1</sup>, al-Asadi states that if the Egyptian pilgrims chose the inland route, they meet with the Syrians at al-Suqyā. Al-Asadi's source seems to be Waki' who enumerates the halts on the Egyptian coastal route<sup>2</sup>. Al-Ya'qūbī states that this coastal route was actually in use towards the end of the 9th century<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, it seems from his detailed description of the way-stations on this route that it was the major one, as he gives no details of the stops on the inland route. Al-Ya'qūbī's account of this route is confusing with regard to the way-stations. It cannot be explained by the not unusual omission of a line, since there are at least seven instances of it in a list containing thirteen names. 'Aunīd (al-'Uwainīd), for example, should not be located between 'Ainānah and al-Ṣilā, as it actually lies farther south immediately after Ḍubā. Similarly, Ḍubā should be located immediately south of al-Nabk as the actual distance between the two does not allow for more halts. Al-Nabk is clearly identical with al-Ṣilā, so that the two should be treated as one. Al-Haurā' is too far from al-Jār for the distance between them to be covered in one journey.

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1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1234.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 330, 340-1.

Al-Quṣaibah should be located north of al-Nabk and al-Ṣilā. Al-Mughithah is probably identical with Qudāmah's al-Aḥsā', as the two words have, in Arabic, the same meaning of «water within easy reach». As al-Aḥsā' is located immediately north of Yanbu' or al-'Ushairah by both Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasī, it can be assumed to be identical with Nabṭ, which lies opposite to a locality called Sharm Ḥasī south west of Umm Lujj which, in its turn, is adjacent to the site of al-Ḥaurā'. Al-Mughithah is described by al-Ya'qūbī as «tilled after rain» which means that rainwater can be kept there for a fairly long time. A place of this kind would be ideal for *al-aḥsā'*, hence the name: «wells within easy reach». Al-Buḥrah is difficult to locate unless it is identified with Yanbu' or al-Buḥairah which 'Arrām describes as a very rich spring between Yanbu' and al-Jār.

Al-Ya'qūbī's route leads to Mecca. He regards Madyan as the junction at which the coastal route converges with the inland route. The journeys required between the stations are extremely long in some places, such as that between Ailah and Sharaf al-Ba'ḷ, and extremely short in other places such as that between al-Ṣilā and al-Nabk and al-Quṣaibah. Al-Ya'qūbī does not record the distances, either by reference to the mileage, or even by specifying the length of time spent between one halt and another. It is, however, generally accepted that unless the actual length is quoted, one journey is required to cover the distance between one station and the next. Though Wakī's list of these halts is less confused than al-Ya'qūbī's, he offers no description of these halts<sup>1</sup>. There is neither evidence of personal experience of this route,

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1. Wakī, *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

nor of reliance on an official source. The names of the halts are given in a corrupted form, but the location of al-‘Aunīd is correct. There is a blank space where the halt (called Mas’ūlān by Qudāmah) between al-Jār and Yanbu‘ should be, which indicates that this name was not generally known to scholars.

Qudāmah<sup>1</sup> records the way-stations on the coastal route in their correct sequence. Nevertheless, he omits Madyan which Muṣīl<sup>2</sup> correctly observes. The distance from Sharaf al-Ba‘l to al-Ṣilā is too long to be bridged in one journey. Otherwise, Qudāmah seems to be consistent in spreading the halts over almost equal, though long, distances. Thus al-Wajh is divided by one halt from Ḍubā in the north and al-Jarrah (al-Ḥaurā’) in the south. Equally, Yanbu‘ is divided by one halt from al-Ḥaurā’ in the north and al-Jār in the south. It should be noted that al-Ṣilā and al-Nabk are identical. Though Qudāmah calls it «the coastal route to Mecca» he, unlike al-Ya‘qūbī, does not record the way-stations between al-Jār and Mecca. Indeed he indicates that some pilgrims go from al-Jār to Medina from which it is separated by two days’ distance. The number of stops and presumably also of the journeys recorded by both Waki‘ and al-Ya‘qūbī exceeds that recorded by Qudāmah, though the latter introduced a new place name: Mas’ūlān.

Though al-Muqaddasī<sup>3</sup> states that he has first-hand knowledge of the area and that he himself had crossed it several times, the halts he records are identical with those

1. Qudamah, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.

2. Muṣīl, *The Northern Hegāz*, p. 323.

3. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

of Qudāmah, except that he substitutes al-‘Ushairah for Yanbu‘ and omits Mas’ūlān. The first difference is explained by the fact that al-‘Ushairah lies in the valley of Yanbu‘, but the omission of Mas’ūlān is noteworthy, as the distance between Yanbu‘ and al-Jār requires two days’ journey as stated by al-Muqaddasī himself in another passage<sup>1</sup>. Some forms of the names are misread: Sharaf al-Ba‘l is alternately called Sharaf al-Ba‘l and Sharaf Dhul-Naml; Ḍubā is called Ḍabbah; al-Wajh is called al-Ruḥbah; al-Ḥaurā’ is called Buḥairah. He follows Qudāmah with respect to the omission of Madyan from this route, but does not add immediately, as Qudāmah does, that al-Jār is separated from Medina by two days’ distance, though he does so on another occasion. He differs from Waki‘, al-Ya‘qūbī and Qudāmah in calling this route «the conventional» route on one occasion and the coastal route on another, while they describe it as the coastal route. Similarly, he calls it the Ailah-Medina route when the other three call it the Egyptian route. One of al-Muqaddasī’s two versions of this route is incomplete as it stops at al-Aḥsā‘. On the whole, his two versions are consistent as regards the names and the sequence of the stops.

Al-Idrīsī<sup>2</sup> also has two versions of the route, but neither can be described as even approximately complete. To judge by the way he speaks of the distance between Ailah and Ḥaql on the one hand, and between Madyan and al-Ḥaurā’ or al-Ḥaurā’ and al-Jār on the other, these places seem to be more or less equidistant, though the distance in one case is 40 km and more than 350 km and 200 km respectively in the other. Whereas al-Ya‘qūbī records thirteen halts between Ailah and al-Jār, al-Idrīsī records but three. In his

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.* P. 84.

2. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 88-89.

other version, al-Idrisi omits Ḥaql and Madyan for which he substitutes 'Aunīd, Ḍubā and al-'Utūf <sup>المطوف</sup>, a name which is untraceable in early sources and not identifiable with any of the old halts there. Between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār, al-Idrisi records two places : Wādī al-Ṣafrā' and al-Quraifah, both of which he describes as prosperous ports. It is clear that he has confused the port of al-Ḥaurā' with al-Rauḥā' which lies in the interior of the territory east of al-Jār, from which it is separated by al-Ṣafrā' and al-'Udhaibah which he confuses with al-Quraifah. Neither al-Ṣafrā' nor al-'Udhaibah is situated on the coast, but al-Idrisi believes that they lie between the ports of al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār and therefore regards them also as ports. Thus al-'Uṭūf may be a misreading of al-Munṣaraf which lies near al-Rauḥā'. It is difficult to trace al-Idrisi's source as regards this route, though for the sector between Ailah and Madyan he seems to rely on Ibn Khurradadbeh's inland route. It appears that al-Idrisi regards Madyan as the place at which the route bifurcates. He also differs from Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasi in naming all the halts to Mecca after al-Jār but unlike al-Ya'qūbī, omits al-Juhfah without a substitute.

It has been mentioned already that al-Bakrī implies the existence of a coastal route between Ailah and Medina. There is, however, no trace of such a route in his *Masālik*, and it is not clear where he places the meeting point of these two routes. He carries the inland route as far as Ḍubā, which represents a new departure with regard to the conventional route, since it suggests that the conventional route coincided with the coastal route as far at least as Ḍubā. This development cannot be taken for granted. Not only does the political

unrest in the interior at about al-Bakrī's time militate against it; it is also made to appear improbable by the fact that he mentions so few halts between Ḍubā and Medina. What is probable is that al-Bakrī quotes a much earlier source and a modern one in an attempt to reconcile the coastal with the inland route. Once pilgrims arrive at Ḍubā, the coastal route becomes easier and safer than the inland route. Ibn Rosteh does not mention the coastal route but states that sea-borne pilgrims travel from Qulzum to Jiddah, and estimates the journey as lasting one day and one night. Al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal mentions the coastal route as an alternative to the inland route. According to them, the route bifurcates at Madyan and meets again at al-Juḥfah.

Though this route is called coastal, it is not always so. After Ḥaql it crosses a mountainous area to Ainūnah via Madyan. The same is true of the sector between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Jār.

TABLE II: Ailah -Medina or Mecca Coastal route

Waki'	al-Ya'qūbī	Qudāmah	al-Muqaddasī	al-Idrisī
Ailah	Ailah	Ailah	Wailah	Ailah <sup>1</sup>
'Ainūnā ( 'Ainūnah)	Sharaf al- Ba'ī	Sharaf al- Ba'ī	Sharaf Dhul-Naml	al-Ḥaql
al-Muṣallā (al-Ṣilā)	Madyan	al-Ṣilā	al-Ṣilā	Madyan
al-Nīl (al-Nabk)	'Ainūnah	al-Nabk	al-Nabk	al-Ḥaurā'
Ṭaibah (Ḍubā)	'Aunīd	Zubah	Ḍubbah	al-Jār
al-Maddah	al-Ṣilā	'Aunīd	al-'Aunīd	Qudaīd
'Aunīd ( 'Uwainīd)	al-Nabk	al-Wajh	al-Ruḥbah	'Uṣfān
al-Rajjah (al-Wajh)	al-Quṣaibah	Munkhūs	Munkhūs	Baṭn Marr
Munkhūs	al-Buḥrah	al-Jarrah	al-Buḥairah	Mecca
al-Ḥaurā'	al-Mughithah	al-Aḥsā'	al-Aḥsā'	II <sup>1</sup>
Quṣaibah	Zubah	Yanbu'	al-'Ushairah	Ailah
al-Buḥrah	al-Wajh	Mas'ulān	al-Jār	'Aunīd

1. Al-Idrisī (*op. cit.*, fol. 89) seems to have misread al-Ḥaurā' for al-Rauḥā' in his second version of the route (see p. 333).

Yalba‘ (Yanbu‘)	Munkhūs	al-Jār		Ḍuba
(Mas’ulān)	al-Ḥaurā‘			al-‘Uṭūf
	al-Jār		Medina	al-Ḥaurā’
	al-Juhfah	Medina		Wādī al-
al-Jār	Qudaīd			Ṣafrā’
Medina	‘Uṣfān			
	Baṭn Marr			al-
	Mecca			Quraifah
				al-Jār



### III— THE CONVENTIONAL ROUTE BETWEEN MEDINA AND MECCA

Table III (pp.350-56)

This pilgrim route between Mecca and Medina is the most discussed route in the works of the Arab geographers of the period under consideration. Most of these geographers concern themselves with the details of this route, its halts and their conditions. It is also by far the best known route with respect to the location of its stopping places. Little change seems to have occurred in its course for thirteen centuries, apart from a diversion aimed at avoiding the inland sector as far as possible. Beside this conventional route, there are several other routes which connect the two Holy cities.

Ibn Khurradadhbeh<sup>1</sup> mentions ten halts on this route, starting with al-Shajarah six miles from Medina. Unlike some other geographers, Ibn Khurradadhbeh implies that al-Shajarah is a halt, apparently because he considers it self-evident as its religious functions require pilgrims to linger there for a while. He gives the mileage between the way-stations. Qudāmah's<sup>2</sup> version of this route is identical with that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh as regards the location of the halts. The same could be said about the mileage between

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

the way-stations. Exceptions are the distance between al-Juḥfah and Quda'id which Qudāmah assesses at twenty-six miles instead of twenty-seven in Ibn Khurradadhbēh's estimate, and that between Baṭn Marr and 'Uṣfān which, according to Qudāmah, amounts to sixteen miles, far less than the thirty-three quoted by Ibn Khurradadhbēh. A mile's difference is acceptable, but seventeen miles are not. It is wrong to suppose that the distance between 'Uṣfān and Baṭn Marr is thirty-three miles. Qudāmah's estimate is more nearly correct. The information given by Qudāmah about the way-stations is more detailed than that of Ibn Khurradadhbēh. Whereas the latter limits himself to the water available there, its quantity and its quality, Qudāmah goes a step farther and speaks of agriculture, trade and the importance of these stations.

In naming the halts on this route, Ibn Rosteh<sup>1</sup> differs from Ibn Khurradadhbēh by omitting Malal between al-Shajarah and al-Sayālah while assessing the total of mileage between the two to be the same. The distance between al-Juḥfah and Quda'id is given as twenty-nine miles as against the twenty-seven miles given by Ibn Khurradadhbēh. As to the distance between 'Uṣfān and Baṭn Marr, Ibn Rosteh's thirty-four miles exceed the former's assessment by one mile. This mileage is probably meant to cover the whole sector between 'Uṣfān and Mecca, though both authors allot sixteen more miles for the intervening distance between Baṭn Marr and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh seems to be Qudāmah's source for the information on the halts. Both authors state that al-Shajarah is not a halt but merely the point at which pilgrimage rites start. What Ibn Rosteh called al-Aḥsā' near al-Ruwaithah,

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1. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.

Qudāmah calls *aḥsā'* — «wells within easy reach». Ibn Rosteh tends to overrate the importance of some halts there, since he describes al-Abwā', al-Juḥfah and 'Uṣfān as huge-sized villages. He errs in equating al-Sayālah with al-Rauḥā', as they are separated by more than 20 km. As whole, Ibn Rosteh gives more details about the conditions of the stops than either Ibn Khurradadbeh before him or Qudāmah who probably relies on his work.

Contrary to his usual practice, al-Ya'qūbī<sup>1</sup> tries once to give the mileage between two halts. He situates Dhul-Ḥulaifah (al-Shajarah), where pilgrims emerging from Medina perform their first pilgrimage rites, at four miles from Medina. This solitary estimate is inaccurate, as the distance is at least five and a half miles. However, he regards it as a halt and names it as the first of the ten halts between Medina and Mecca. Al-Ya'qūbī announces his intention of naming ten halts and in fact enumerates thirteen. Three of these halts are not proper way-stations, since two of them, al-Rauḥā' and al-'Arj, are known as «stopping places for evening meal», and the third, al-Ḥufair, is so described, though it is separated by eight miles from either al-Sharajah or Malal. Al-Ya'qūbī, however, does not refer to any distinction between the thirteen halts. The names Suqyā B. Ghifār and Marr al-Ẓahrān are used for the first time by al-Ya'qūbī instead of al-Suqyā and Baṭn Marr, used by Ibn Khurradadbeh before him and both Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah after him. Apart from mentioning the religious functions of Dhul-Ḥulaifah, al-Ya'qūbī limits his information entirely to the origins of the inhabitants of these stations. Ghadir Khumm is situated by him at two miles off the

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 313-4.

route, but he does not refer to its significance in connection with Shiite belief.

Al-Hamdānī<sup>1</sup> records ten halts on the way from Median to Mecca. The number of way-stations coincides with that recorded by Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah, but al-Hamdānī differs from them by omitting al-Shajarah and Malal, for which he substitutes al-Rauḥā' and al-'Arj. He also estimates the distance from Medina to al-Sayālah as twenty-three miles against the thirty-seven miles at which they assess it. The same could be said about the distance between al-Sayālah and al-Ruwaithah which he estimates as thirty-seven miles, while they record it as thirty-four miles, without mentioning al-Rauḥā' as a stop, though Ibn Rosteh erroneously equates it with al-Sayālah. Al-Hamdānī refers to it as a stop, separated from al-Sayālah by twenty-four miles, and from al-Ruwaithah by thirteen miles. The last-mentioned distance does not require a full day's journey as the local road conditions are not bad. The distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā is, according to al-Hamdānī, forty-eight miles with al-'Arj as an equidistant way-station between them. The other three geographers omit al-'Arj and more correctly regard the distance as only thirty-six miles. Ibn Rosteh locates al-'Arj between al-Suqyā and al-Ruwaithah at a distance of thirteen miles, but does not regard it as a halt. In fact, both al-'Arj and al-Rauḥā' were mere «evening meal» halts.

In estimating the distance from al-Suqyā to al-Abwā' as nineteen miles, al-Hamdānī is more accurate than the other three geographers who assess it at twenty-nine miles. Al-

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1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, pp. 184-5.

Hamdānī also differs from them in recording the distance between al-Abwā' and al-Juhfah as twenty-three miles while they quote it as twenty-seven miles. Here al-Hamdānī obviously errs less. The distance between Quda'id and 'Uṣfān estimated by al-Hamdānī at twenty-three miles, is one mile shorter than that recorded by them. Besides, Ibn Khurradadbeh and Ibn Rosteh tend, as has been seen above, to exaggerate the distance between 'Uṣfān and Mecca which Qudāmāh assesses at thirty-two miles, against forty-nine and fifty miles in the respective estimates of Ibn Khurradadbeh and Ibn Rosteh. Al-Hamdānī assesses it at thirty-six miles which is nearest to correct, as the distance is 70km when more or less the same route is followed. Al-Hamdānī regards this route as a continuation of the Iraqi pilgrim route. He limits his concern to the distance, and to the latitude, for which he relies on «some Iraqi authors».

Al-Muqaddasī<sup>1</sup> ventures to record the route from Mecca to Medina according to his own experience. While he apparently borrows Ibn Khurradadbeh's mileage on the Iraqi route, he prefers to ignore it as regards this route which he measures by journeys. Nevertheless, he commits a gross error here. The distance between al-Suqyā and al-Ruwaithah cannot be three days, for it can be covered in one or two days at most. According to al-Muqaddasī, al-Rauḥā' is situated between Mecca and al-Ruwaithah, whereas it actually lies between al-Ruwaithah and Medina. He also states that the distance between al-Ruwaithah and Medina requires one day's journey only which cannot be accepted. He mentions new way-stations instead of old names such as al-Khaim, and Khulais and Amaj between al-Juāfah and 'Uṣfān, which suggests that he has substituted these two way-stations for Quda'id. The distance between

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, 106.

al-Juhfah and 'Usfān can be covered in no more than two days. Though al-Muqaddasī does not give information on the particular halts while mapping the route, he describes some of them on other occasions. He gives the way-stations starting from Mecca to Medina, in which he is followed by al-Idrīsī.

Al-Idrīsī<sup>1</sup> differs from all his predecessors by stating, in the Paris 2222 MS. that the number of halts between Mecca and Medina is twenty, and, in the Paris 2221 MS. 33a, that it is ten. Unlike al-Ya'qūbī who announces ten halts but enumerates thirteen, al-Idrīsī stops far too short of the promised twenty. The ten halts he names are entirely identical in number, name and sequence with those given by Ibn Khurradadbeh, except that the former terminates his route at al-Shajarah. Further differences concerns the distances on that route. Al-Idrīsī, understandably, ignores the distance from al-Shajarah to Medina altogether. The distance between Malal and al-Sayālah, which he assesses at seventeen miles and that between al-Suqyā and al-Abwā' which he assesses at twenty-seven miles, are both two miles shorter than Ibn Khurradadbeh's estimate. Al-Idrīsī mentions an alternative route which, however, turns out to be the Prophet's Hijrah route. The information proffered by al-Idrīsī is richer than that of his predecessors. It ranges from the availability of water to the origins of the people inhabiting the way-stations and the conditions of life there, and even the distance between some halts and the sea. Nevertheless, it should be noted that he departs from his previous statement that al-Juhfah is situated on the sea coast, and that it is a port.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the population, he

1. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 36-7.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 34.

seems to rely on different sources, since he mentions both the ancient and the new inhabitants of these places. His assumption that the Ṭay also lived at al-Suqyā cannot be accepted.

Apart from Waki's, al-Asadi's<sup>1</sup> account of the route between Mecca and Medina is the most detailed among the Arab geographers. His work is not yet available, with the exception of a number of quotations recorded by al-Samhūdī on the subject of the mosques of the Prophet between Mecca and Medina, and some halts on the pilgrim routes. Fortunately, it is possible to derive from these quotations a relatively clear picture of the route between Mecca and Medina, the main feature of which is obviously the description of the Prophet's mosque on that route, which is not a mean feat. Less clear are the data on distance and directions from place to place. Al-Asadi seems also very concerned with the living conditions of the natives; the post officials and the road signs. He disregards neither historical information about the route nor its contemporary condition. His admiration of the projects carried out by or under al-Mutawakkil in contrast to those of al-Wāthiq which he treats with contempt, is not shared by Waki'.

How much has been recorded of al-Asadi's account of the distances between one place and another is not always clear, as al-Samhūdī does not mention all the distances. Once al-Samhūdī attributes to al-Asadi the assessment of the distance between Medina and al-Ruwaitḥah at sixty miles<sup>2</sup> but, as he does not quote him on the intervening distance between al-Shajarah and Malal, one is left with the assump-

1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1001-1021.

2. Ibid., p. 1225.

tion that it is at least nineteen and a half miles in order to obtain the total of sixty miles. Also the assessment of the distance between Medina and al-Suqyā at ninety-six miles is attributed to al-Asadī.<sup>1</sup> This would imply that the distance between the latter and al-Ruwaithah is thirty-six miles, though the actual total is given as thirty-one miles. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah calculate the distance between al-Ruwaithah and Medina as seventy-one miles, and that between al-Suqyā and Medina as 107 miles.

Almost all the information attributed to al-Asadī by al-Samhūdī is to be found in Wakī's *Manāzil* which contains the most detailed and consistent data on the conventional route from Medina to Mecca. It deals with many aspects, such as the spring and wells on this route and the inhabitants of the halts. The mosques of the Prophet are also discussed in detail. His meticulous assessment of the distances has not been exceeded by any other geographer whose complete work we know of.<sup>2</sup>

Wakī's concern about the distance is not limited to those between two successive halts or the total of distances between several halts, but includes the distances between intervening points, even if they are only one mile apart. It seems to have been his purpose to compose a very detailed map of that route. It was his misfortune that his work was no doubt frequently consulted and borrowed from by both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt, but with a clear determination to suppress his name, as neither of them mentions a source when utilizing Wakī's data on this route. Yāqūt assesses

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 1234.

2. See Wakī, *Manāzil*, fols. 41-54.



the distance between Medina and al-Shajarah,<sup>1</sup> between al-Qāḥah and al-Suqyā<sup>2</sup> and between al-Suqyā and Tiḥan<sup>3</sup> exactly as laid down by Waki', but without reference to any source, not even to al-Asadi or al-Sakūnī whose reliance on Waki' is clear.

Al-Bakri in his *Mu'jam*<sup>4</sup> supplies a detailed description of almost all halts on the route from Medina to Mecca including the distances from one place to another, their history and the contemporary condition. Most of this account is clearly identifiable with that of Waki' and al-Asadi. There is the distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Uthay and that between the latter and al-ʿArj which coincides with Waki's and al-Asadi's data. The same can be said of the distances between al-Qāḥah and al-Suqyā; between the latter and Tiḥan; between al-Ruwaithah and ʿAqabat al-ʿArj; between the latter and al-ʿArj itself; between Wādi al-Azīq and Amaj. Also al-Bakri's estimate of other distances is identical with some of al-Asadi's and Waki's assessment, but as these places are famous, the coincidence is less indicative of al-Bakri's consistent borrowing from them than in the case of minor data. They situate the half-point between Mecca and Medina at one mile before Hirshā in the direction of Mecca, a statement borrowed by al-Bakri; they equate Khulaiṣ with Ibn Bazi's spring and so does al-Bakri. The latter estimates the distance between al-Juhfah and Kulayyah at twelve miles, an exact copy of what al-Asadi states.<sup>5</sup> The same can be said of the information on the mosque of the Prophet five miles south of al-Abwā'. Al-

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 856.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 5.

4. Al-Bakri, *Mu'jam*, pp. 954-58.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 856.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

Samhūdi states that the mosque of the Prophet at Tiḥan is not mentioned by any author except al-Asadī, so that the mention of this mosque by al-Bakrī is convincing proof of al-Bakrī's reliance on al-Asadī or Waki' who mentions it before al-Asadī. These quotations suffice to demonstrate how heavily al-Bakrī is indebted to Waki' or al-Asadī, at least with regard to this route. There is, however, no explanation yet why both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt persistently ignore their source here; but the very fact that al-Bakrī and Yāqūt adopt the same attitude suggest that this work had been handed down anonymously for undisclosed reasons as regards al-Asadī, and because Waki' did not finish his work.

Al-Bakrī's account is not limited to that of Waki' or al-Asadī. The traces of their work are strongest in the sections of *al-Mu'jam* which are devoted to the route from Medina to Mecca. Nevertheless, there are numerous occasions on which al-Bakrī tries to record the distance between one place and another, or to map parts of the route, about which there is no doubt that he has consulted sources which are sometimes contradictory to both Waki' and al-Asadī. Thus, though al-Bakrī gives the total mileage between Medina and al-Rauhā' as forty miles when mapping the route, he estimates it, in another passage, at forty-one miles.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the distance from Medina to al-Ruwaithah which varies between sixty-four,<sup>2</sup> sixty three<sup>3</sup> and fifty-one miles<sup>4</sup> in three different passages. The thirty-one mile distance between al-Ruwaithah and al-Suqyā shrinks to thirty miles in another

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 681.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 930.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

entry;<sup>1</sup> so does that between al-Sayālah and al-Rauḥā' which is given as twelve miles<sup>2</sup> in one passage and eleven in another. Arthad, the valley of al-Abwā', is situated four miles from Medina,<sup>3</sup> which is erroneous as miles here is clearly a misreading for nights ليل . Al-Bakrī seems hesitant with respect to Tī'han which he correctly situates, in one passage, after al-Suqyā in the direction of Mecca, probably relying on Waki' or al-Asadi. But in another passage, obviously confronted by a report transmitted by al-Bukhārī which, despite all al-Samhūdī's and Ibn Ḥajar's efforts, defies reconciliation with actual fact, he locates Tī'han before al-Suqyā.<sup>4</sup> Though al-Bakrī rightly followed al-Asadi in stating that 'Azwar is near al-Juḥfah where there are two mosques of the Prophet, al-Bakrī commits the error of relying on 'Arrām when he situates 'Azwar near Raḍwā, north east of Yanbu'.<sup>5</sup> He draws on al-Asadi in locating al-Mushallal three miles north of Qudaid and nine miles south of Kulayyah, but in another passage he locates both Qudaid and al-Mushallal in Mecca<sup>6</sup> which is clearly inadvertent. The distance between Qudaid and al-Kadid is given, in a separate entry, as sixteen miles,<sup>7</sup> one mile in excess of the total mileage assumed between the two places when mapping the route. Al-Bakrī follows al-Asadi when correctly locating Kulayyah at twelve miles south of al-Juḥfah, but situates it, in accordance with 'Arrān, north of al-Juḥfah in another context.<sup>8</sup> The fact that a description

1. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 770.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 1041. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1162-1163.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 362, 656, 942.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 1054, 1217.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 1054.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1352.

of the conventional route immediately precedes the statement that the total mileage between Mecca and Medina is 200 miles excludes the applicability of this statement to any other route, while the actual total of the distance given in the same passage is 209 miles, which implies that the *Manāzil* of Waki' is not the only source of this route. Only when mapping the route does al-Bakrī calculate the distance in miles. In other entries his estimate varies, as some distances are given in miles and others in days' journeys.

The latter method is exemplified by his estimate of the distance between Medina and Thirā (two nights' journey)<sup>1</sup>; that between Medina and al-Qāḥah (three nights journey)<sup>2</sup> and that between Arthad and Medina (four wight' journey)<sup>3</sup>.

According to al-Bakrī, there are several routes from Medina to Mecca. He mentions the one from al-Rauḥā' to Badr mapped by Waki', and another one from al-Ruwaitḥah to Badr. After Badr, the route leads for two days through land which is barren though it has wells of fresh water. The route converges with the conventional route at al-Juḥfah. He states that some travellers do not go to al-Abwā' as they prefer to travel from al-Suqyā to Waddān. On this occasion, al-Bakrī mentions the distance from Waddān to al-Juḥfah, though he disregards Waddān altogether when mapping the route from Badr to al-Juḥfah which actually leads through Waddān. All this information is recorded by Waki', who states in a third passage that Waddān lies in ruins.<sup>4</sup> It is this route which became the سلطانى *sulṭānī* «official» route in the following centuries.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1040.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 136, printed اميال *amyāl* instead of ليال *layāl*.

1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols,

The account of the route between Medina and Mecca given by al-Bakrī in his *Muʿjam* is of the highest value, since it comprises the minute details derived from Wakiʿ and al-Asadī together with numerous additions which are often correct and always important. He also mentions the Hijrah route which will be discussed later. In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī does not proffer any original or new information about this route. He does not even refer to it, except briefly in connection with the mosques of the Prophet between Mecca and Medina. The forms in which the names occur are marred by constant misreading.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Al-Bakrī, fols. 74 - 5

TABLE III: Medina-Mecca Conventional route with the mileage

Ibn Khurradadbeh	al-Ya'qūbī	Ibn Rosteh
Medina	Medina	Medina
6 miles	4	6
al-Shajarah	Dhul-Ḥulaifah	al-Shajarah
12		31
Malal	al-Ḥufairah	al-Sayālah = (al-Rauḥā')
19		34
al-Sayālah	Mala	al-Ruwaitah
34		36
al-Ruwaitah	al-Sayālah	al-Suqyā
36		29
al-Suqyā	al-Rauḥā'	al-Abwā'
29		27
al-Abwā'	al-Ruwaitah	al-Juḥfah
27		29
al-Juḥfah	al-'Arj	Qudaid
27		24
Qudaid	Suqyā B. Ghifār	'Uṣfān
24		34
'Uṣfān,	al-Abwā'	Baṭn Marr
33		16
Baṭn Marr	al-Juḥfah	Mecca
16	2	
Mecca	Ghadir Khumm	
	Qudaid	
	'Uṣfān	
	Marr al-Ẓahrān	
	Mecca	

Qudāma	al-Hamdānī	al-Muqaddasī
Medina	Medina	Yathrib
6	23	
al-Shajarah	al-Sayālah	al-Ruwaithan
12	2	
Malal	al-Rauḥā'	al-Rauḥā'
19	13	
al-Sayālah	al-Ruwaithah	al-'Arj
34	24	
al-Ruwaithah	al-'Arj	Suqyā B. Ghifār
36	24	
al-Suqyā	al-Suqyā	al-Abwā'
29	19	
al-Abwā'	al-Abwā'	al-Juḥfah
27	23	
al-Juḥfah	al-Juḥfah	al-Khaim
26	24	
Qudaïd	Qudaïd	Khulaiṣ and Amaj
24	23	
'Uṣfān	'Uṣfān	'Uṣfān
16	23	
Baṭn Marr	Marr al-Zahrān	Baṭn Marr
16	13	
Mecca	Mecca	Mecca

al-Idrīsī		al-Asadī according to al-Samhūdī	
al-Shajarah	Medina	the Mosque of al-Munbajis	Kulayyah the Mosque of Taraf Qudaid
12 Malal	6 (repeated by Yāqūt)	5 the spring of al-Munbajis	3
17 al-Sayālah	al-Mu'rras (Dhul Hulaifah)	3	Qudaid
34 al-Ruwaithah	6 al-Hufairah Malal	al-Ṭalūb	8 Khulais Marr al-Zahrān
36 al-Suqyā	7	1 Liḥyay Jamal	17
27 al-Abwā'	al-Sayālah	4 al-Qāḥah	Mecca
27 al-Juhfah	11 al-Rauhā'	1 (repeated by Yāqūt)	
26 Qudaid	3 al-Munṣaraf)	13 al-Suqyā or (repeated by al-Ruwaithah)	16½ Yāqūt)
24 'Uṣfān	4 al-Jiy	3 Ti'han	18
33 Baṭn Marr	7 the pass of al-'Arj	the Mosque of al-Ramādah al-Abwā'	
16 Mecca	1 al-Uthāyah	13 al-Juhfah	
	2 al-'Arj	12	
	3		



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al-Bakrī

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Medina	Ti'han	'Usfān
6	16	5
Dhul-Ḥulaifah	al-Abwā'	al-Janābidh
8	23	2
al-Ḥufair	al-Juḥfah	the Well of al-'Adanī
8	12	1
Malal	Kulayyah	Kurā' al-Ghamim
7	9	15
al-Sayālah	al-Mushallal	Baṭn Marr
11	3	7
al-Rauḥā'	Qudaid	Sarif
24	7	6
al-Ruwaitḥah	Khulaiṣ	Mecca
12	2	
al-Uthāyah	Amaj	
2	4	
al-'Arj	al-Rauḍah	
Ṭalūb		
6	2	
al-Qāḥah	al-Kadid	
1	5	
al-Suqyā	valley of Ghazāl	
3	1	

## Waki'

Medina	al-‘Arij	a mosque of the Prophet	
2	3	I	
al-‘Aqiq 5½	a mosque of the Prophet	the half-way sign	
Dhul-Ḥulaifah (al-Shajarah)	8	2	
6	al-Ṭalūb	the pass of	
al-Ḥufair	I	Hirshā with a mosque of the Prophet	
6	23 Liḥyay Jamal	I7	
Malal			23
5	4	4	
a mosque of the Prophet	Wadi al-‘Ābid (al-Qāḥah)	the well of Rābigh	
2	I	I	
al-Sayālah	al-Suqyā	‘Arūn (‘Azwar) with a mosque of the Prophet	
9	3	II	
‘Irq al-Zabyah	Ti‘han	al-Juḥfah with a mosque of the Prophet at the entrance and another at the exit	
2	4	3	
al-Rauḥā’	the spring of al-Qushairi		
2	24		
al-Munṣaraf, a mosque of the Prophet	7 the spring of Ibn Mu‘ṭi,	I7	
II	I		
al-Ruwaithah	a mosque of the Prophet	a mosque of the Prophet	
4	I	9	
al-Jiy	the spring of Thaqīb		
7			

the pass of al-‘Arj	1
where the Hijaz ends	al-Abwā
1	2
a mosque of the	the hills of
Prophet at al-	Yumm
Uthāyah near the	3
barīd no. 51	
2	

## Wakī‘

al-Mukallabah	the spring of B. Ja’far b.	
(al-Mushallal; the scribe	Sulaimān	
seems to have emitted	1½	
kulayyah which accounts	the pond of al-Ashtāṭ	
for the discrepancy bet-	4½	
ween the detail and the	the mosque of el-’Adanī	
sum of the distances)	1	
3	Kurā’ al-Ghamīm	
Qudaid	2	23
1	the well of the Beduin	
four wells	2	
½	the valley of al-Kurā’	
the derelict spring of ?	7	
½	al-Janābidh	
the valley of Ghurān	4	
3	Mārr (Baṭn Marr)	
the pass of Khulais	7	
1	Sharaf (Sarīf)	
a mosque of the Prophet	3	
2	al-Tan’im	
23		
Khulais = the spring of		
Ibn Bazī’		

2  
Amaj 8

6  
al-Kadīd

8  
the valley of ?

I  
'Uṣfān

I

2  
the mosque of 'Ā'ishah

2  
Fakhkh 13(sic)

2  
Mecca

Medina

200

Mecca

(one mile less than his  
sum of the distances between the nine halts).

#### IV— THE HIṬRAH ROUTE FROM MECCA TO MEDINA

Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>1</sup> accords to this route more attention than any other geographer of this period. He records it as an ordinary route, but assigns to it the historic honour of having been chosen by the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca in 622 A.D. He does not mention a source, nor does he treat his account as a *ḥadīth*. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that he relies, with minor alterations, mainly omissions, on Ibn Ishāq's account of this route.<sup>2</sup> He omits about a line of Ibn Ishāq's account where it concerns the convergence of the Prophet's route with the conventional route at the lower region of 'Uṣfān until after Amaj, where the Prophet deviated from the route for a while before and after Quda'id. Ibn Khurradadbeh mentions neither Liqf nor the route of Liqf referred to by Ibn Ishāq. Nor does he mention al-Jadājid. The name al-'Abābīd is replaced by al-'Ithyanah, and al-'Āir by al-A'yār. The place called Dhū Salam by Ibn Ishāq, is called by Ibn Khurradadbeh Dhū Samr; the two names are, however, consemantic, both dealing with one tree. Ibn Ishāq's Baṭn Marjih Dhul-Ghaḍawain is modified to Marjih... as the word Baṭn بطن is changed to the verb *tabaṭṭan* تباطن «went through». Baṭn Ri'm is called Ri'm; Mujāḥ is called Mujāj.

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, dp. 129-131.

2. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 491-492.

Al-Idrīsī<sup>1</sup> regards this route as an alternative to the conventional route from Mecca to Medina. He implies that it was used by his contemporaries as he states that it is longer than the conventional route and that it leads through mountainous passages. The last-mentioned observation is correct, but the Hijrah route is not longer than the conventional route. Both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Khurradadhbeh state very clearly that the guide of the Prophet avoided the route on several occasions, no doubt to evade the pursuit by the Quraish, but also to take a short-cut. Al-Idrīsī substitutes «travellers» for «the guide of the Prophet», and proceeds to quote the account of Ibn Khurradadhbeh, again with some alterations which are mainly due to misreading. So full of misreadings is the account that it is impossible to form a clear idea of this route on the basis of al-Idrīsī's version alone. Here is a list of place names given by Ibn Khurradadhbeh and in the two MSS of al-Idrīsī:

Ibn Khurradadhbeh	Al-Idrīsī
	<i>Paris MS.2221, fol.63</i> <i>Paris MS. 2222</i>
	Baṭn Marr, on the coastal route.    Baṭn Marr, on the coast.
‘Uṣfān	‘Uṣfān
Qudaid,	Qudaid,
Al-Kharrār,	Al-Khawwār,
Thaniyyat al-	Thaniyyat al-
Mar’ah,	Marah,
	al-Ḥarrah
Madlajat Mujāh,	Madlajāh,
Marjih of	Baṭn Madhḥaj,
	Baṭn Marbah

1. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols.

Mujāj;

Marjih Dhū al-  
Ghaḍawain,

Baṭn Dhāt Kishd,  
al-Ajrad  
Dhū Samr,  
A'dā' Madlajat  
Ti'han

Naṭn Dhāt Kishd,  
al-Ajrad,  
Dhū Shamir,  
Baṭn Aghrā',

Baṭn Dhāt Kabsh,  
al-Ajrad,  
Dhū Summ,  
Baṭn A'zā',

al-'Ithbānah  
(='Ithyānah),

al-Qāḥah,

al-'Arj

al-A'yār,

Ri'm and

B. 'Amr b. 'Auf

Madlajat Ya'fur,  
al-'Aithā',

adhān

al-'Arj,

al-A'yār,

Rubbamā,

B. 'Amr b. 'Auf  
and Medina

Madlajat Ya'fur,  
al-'Aaifā'

adhān al-'Azjah,

al-'Arj,

al-A'yār,

Ri'mā,

B. 'Amr b. 'Auf  
and Medina

It should be noted that al-Idrīsī's Adhān al-Qāḥah or Adhān al-'Azjah is the result of misreading Ibn Khurrada-dhbeh's *thumma ajāz al-Qāḥah* ثم اجاز القاحه = then he passed al-Qāḥah. The same can be said of Thaniyyat al-Marah which has been split, in one MS., into two halves: al-Thaniyyah and al-Ḥarrah. Ri'm is called Ri'mā which is due to a grammatical misconception. It should read *Ri'mā* رثما in Ibn Khurradadhbeh's account, as it is there the object of the verb وهبط ; no alteration is necessary in al-Idrīsī's version. Similarly, owing to the omission of the place name Qubā after «B. 'Amr b. 'Auf», B. 'Amr figures as a place, though the correct place name would be Qubā where B. 'Amr used to live at the time of the Hijrah. Deviating in this particular instance from Ibn Khurrada-

dhbeh, al-Idrīsī seems to rely on the account of 'Urwah b. al-Zubair,<sup>1</sup> though the latter states definitely that B. 'Amr lived at Medina, whereas al-Idrīsī indicates with equal clarity that B. 'Amr is a separate halt before Medina. The one addition of al-Idrīsī, Baṭn Marr is not mentioned by the other three on this route. He is, however, mistaken in placing it on the coast in one MS.

Though Ibn Ishāq's account is more detailed than 'Urwah's, the latter is clearly more successful in his attempt to map this route, as he unequivocally states on several occasions that the Prophet avoided some routes which he names, implying that they were known and used at that time. Ibn Ishāq's account merely suggests that the Prophet avoided «the route». 'Urwah traces the Madlajah route between those of al-Rauḥā' and 'Amq, and correctly substitutes al-Ghā'ir for Ibn Ishāq's 'Ā'ir, describing it as a watering place, not a pass as Ibn Ishāq does. 'Urwah locates his Ghā'ir east of the Rakūbah pass. Both authors call Ri'm which is also correct. 'Urwah is alone in omitting Amaj, Liqf, Mujah, Marjih, Dhū Kushd, al-Jadājid, al-Ajrad, Dhū Salam, al-Qāḥah and Ti'han. Ibn Hishām correctly preferred Dhul-'Aṣawain and al-Qāḥah to Dhul-Ghaḍawain and al-Fājah respectively as accepted by Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Bakrī<sup>2</sup> repeats part of Ibn Ishāq's account as given by Ibn Hishām. This part stops at Liqf which Ibn Hishām corrects to Lift. Al-Bakrī, however, regards this correction as an indication that Liqf and Lift are two places at a short distance from one another. Though this part of the Hijrah

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1. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 1, p. 1237.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1161.



route appears shorter than the corresponding section in Ibn Ishāq's account, the place names coincide as far as Liqf. This part is recorded by al-Bakrī as a *ḥadīth*; on another occasion, he refers to the whole route as «the Hijrah *ḥadīth*», which suggests that he does not suppose that it was used by his contemporaries. However, he seems to be oblivious of this *ḥadīth* when he situates the Rakūbah pass on the route from Medina to Tabūk.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, he quotes Mālik to the effect that Ri'm is at four postal stages from Medina.<sup>2</sup> According to 'Abd al-Razzāq,<sup>3</sup> Ri'm is thirty miles from Medina. Ri'm is much closer to Medina than their estimate. Al-Bakrī also states that Dhū Kishd is mentioned in the «Hijrah *ḥadīth*»,<sup>4</sup> but this name does not occur in the part he records. Incidentally, Dhū Kishd is the correct form of the name and not Kishr or Kushr as printed in Ibn Hishām's *Sirah* because Kishr lies east of Medina. Al-Bakrī also rectifies the name of the place which occurs in Ibn Khurradadbeh as Mujāj and in Ibn Hishām as Muḥāj, spelling it Mujāḥ,<sup>5</sup> which is the correct form.

Naṣr rarely errs, but he is mistaken in defining Marjih as Mudajjaj.<sup>6</sup> He also seems to overlook the story of the Hijrah, as he assumes wrongly that the Prophet shunned this place.<sup>7</sup> Yāqūt borrows the entire statement, but attributes it to Abū Bakr al-Hamadhānī.<sup>8</sup> On another occasion, Yāqūt

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 670.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 689.

3. 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 263.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1130.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1161.

6. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 68.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 136.

8. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 442.

confuses it with another Marjih near al-Khall in the Yemen.<sup>1</sup> Al-Muqaddasi refers to this route once in connection with a difficult pass through which, according to legend, a pathway was hewn by Gabriel for the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca to Medina.<sup>2</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 464.

2. Al-Muqaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

## V— OTHER ROUTES BETWEEN MEDINA AND MECCA

There are other routes between Medina and Mecca such as those leading through al-Fur', south of Medina. According to al-Zubair,<sup>1</sup> there are four routes leading from Medina to al-Fur'. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair passed al-Fur' when he fled from Medina to Mecca in the 7th century.<sup>2</sup> The route through al-Fur' is a short-cut, but it is difficult and unsafe for pilgrim caravans in times of unrest. Abū al-Fidā' indicates that some of his contemporaries travelled thorough al-Fur' though it was infested by robbers.<sup>3</sup>

To judge by the information found in Naṣr,<sup>4</sup> the conventional route had already been diverted from its ancient course through al-Suqyā to its present course through Badr by the 6th Hijri century (12th century). As the old route was shorter and richer in water, this diversion can only be accounted for by the requirements of safety.

Al-Maqdisī<sup>5</sup> mentions three routes from Mecca to Medina, the conventional route, the coastal one and the one called

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1323.

2. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ḥkḥbār*, p. 222.

3. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 95.

4. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

5. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 91.

al-Khālif. Unfortunately he chooses not to enumerate the halts on each route on the ground that they are too many. It is, however, clear from his statement that both the coastal and the conventional routes were in use at his time, the 10th century. It has already been seen that al-Bakrī mentions two routes leading from Medina to Badr from which a route leads to al-Juhfah. Al-Maqdisi's Khālif is no doubt the Hijrah route which is known as al-Ghā'ir. Ibn Zabālah implies that the Prophet followed the Fur' route, and had three mosques there.<sup>1</sup> It is presumably the route he followed during the campaign of Buhrān. The Najdī route between Medina and Mecca converges with the Iraqī route at the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim. This route was in constant use in the early centuries of Islam, and al-Rashīd had dams built at al-Arḥaḍiyyah, half-way between Medina and the Ma'dan.<sup>2</sup>

According to al-Samhūdī, Hirshā, north of Rābigh, is described by 'Arrām as the meeting point of travellers from Medina and Syria to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> This piece of information is not to be found in 'Arrām's text. What appears in his text is the statement that the Mu'riqah route, between Raḍwā and 'Azwar, is a short-cut taken by the Arabs going to Syria, Mecca and Medina.<sup>4</sup> Any route with such a function should be located between Mecca and Medina, but Raḍwā lies north west of Medina, so that any short-cut from Medina to Syria would have to avoid Raḍwā. It is also difficult to understand what 'Arrām means by placing Raḍwā and 'Azwar west of the Medina route and east of the Burairā' route in the direction of Mecca, since Raḍwā does not lie

1. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1026.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1224.

4. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1326.

on the direct route linking the two cities. The same applies to his assertion that Yanbu' lies «right of Raḍwā for those who travel west»<sup>1</sup> unless the word «Raḍwā» is omitted. The distance between the two Mts. Thāfils and both Raḍwā and 'Azwar is given by 'Arrām as «two nights' journey» in one passage,<sup>2</sup> and «seven nights' journey» in another,<sup>3</sup> which cannot be explained except by assuming a lacuna in the MS., especially if one notes that 'Azwar does not lie near Raḍwā. 'Arrām refers to two «evening meal» halts on the route between Medina and Mecca,<sup>4</sup> and mentions the mileage for some of the distances, but only sporadically since it occurs once or twice, so that it cannot be taken as proof that he knew the length of the whole route in miles. Nor can al-Wāqidi's reference to the mileage, though often accurate, be regarded as the result of an official survey, since he mentions places unlikely to be of interest to the official administration. It is true that Lughdah al-Hajari refer to the mileage on the conventional route in the Malal region,<sup>5</sup> but by the time of al-Hajari, the route had already been measured in miles.

Waki' mentions the diversion leading from al-Rauḥā' to al-Juḥfah through Badr<sup>6</sup> to which al-Bakri refers without naming a source. Since Waki' relies on the authority of a native, it seems that this diversion was not in general use, though the distances are quoted in miles as far as Badr. Waddān, which lies on this diversion, is not mentioned here,

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 401, 403.

5. Al-Hajari, *Nawādir*, part 1, fol. 132, and part 2, fol. 142; and Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 371, 376.

6. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 40-41.

but is described on another occasion as «lying in ruins». <sup>1</sup> Waki' also mentions the Najdi route from Medina to Mecca, and quotes the distances in miles. <sup>2</sup> As regards the route from Medina to Mecca through al-Suwāriyyah, Waki' quotes the distances in days' journeys as far as al-Ma'dan where it converges with the Najdi route. <sup>3</sup> He mentions the palaces of al-Rashid, and the springs and wells dug by many prominent Muslims on this route.

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1. *Ibid.*, fol. 40.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 14.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 17.

## VI— SURAGH-MEDINA ROUTE

Table IV (p. 439)

The ancient Tabūkiyyah route was known to pre-Islamic Arabs whose trade caravans passed it on their way to Syria. Caliph Abū Bakr is said to have instructed two of his armies to follow this route on their way to Syria, and sent a third via Ailah.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Asadī, the northernmost frontier of the Hijaz is Suragh.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>3</sup> mentions eleven way-stations between Suragh and Medina. He neither records the mileage nor proffers any other information with regard to this route. Ibn Rosteh<sup>4</sup> enumerates the same number of halts in precisely the same sequence. Qudāmah<sup>5</sup> carries the route only up to Wādī al-Qurā, observing the number and sequences of Ibn Khurradadbeh's account, but referring by implication to his own previous account of the route from Ailah to Medina through Wādī al-Qurā. Since Qudāmah omits al-Marr from the latter account, his way-stations between Suragh and Medina number only ten. Al-Ya'qūbī<sup>6</sup> indicates that Syrian pilgrims travel to

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1. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 2078-79.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣah*, p. 280.

3. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

4. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

5. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, fol. 94.

6. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 330, 340-1.

Mecca and Medina through Ailah where they join the Egyptians. Though he describes their passage to Ailah as difficult and mountainous, he fails to mention the Tabūkiyyah route which was no doubt in use at his time.

Though al-Idrīsī<sup>1</sup> follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh to the letter with respect to the journey from Tabūk to al-Ḥijr, he seems to utilize an additional source on Wādī al-Qurā and on the journey from Suragh to Tabūk which Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah locate immediately south of Suragh. Al-Idrīsī mentions two halts, al-Bathniyyah and Dimnah, between Suragh and Tabūk, and identifies al-Bathniyyah with Adhri'at,<sup>2</sup> while Musil identifies Dimnah with Dhātul-Ḥājj.<sup>3</sup> It can, however, hardly be credited that such a short distance from Suragh to Dhātul-Ḥājj requires more than one day's journey. Nor is it possible to cover the whole distance from Suragh to Tabūk in one day's journey as Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Qudāmah and Ibn Rosteh suggest. Even the distance from Dhātul-Ḥājj to Tabūk, measuring, according to Musil, 80km, is more than could possibly be bridged in one day's journey. The other place on which al-Idrīsī differs from Ibn Khurradadhbeh is Wādī al-Qurā. According to the latter, it is the halt south of al-Ḥijr and north of al-Ruḥbah that is called Wādī al-Qurā. The same halt is named by both authors with respect to the Ailah-Medina route. Al-Idrīsī does not name it on the Syrian route, but prefers to describe it as a small town on a small river. There are no rivers there. In another MS., however, it is called «Wādi» which suggests that an attempt at correction has been made.

1. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 94.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 93.

3. Musil, *The Northern Hegāz*, p. 329.



The misreadings in al-Idrīsī's account are legion. The following is a juxtaposition of al-Idrīsī's two MSS compared with the account of Ibn Khurradadhbēh:

Ibn Khurradadhbēh	Al-Idrīsī
	<i>Paris</i> 2221, fol. 138 <i>Paris</i> 2222
Saragh,	Yanūʿ,
Tabūk,	al-Buthainiyyah,
al-Muḥdathah,	Daʿah (Dimnah),
al-Aqrāʿ,	Tabūk,
al-Junainah,	al-Muḥdathah,
	Imā Farʿ
	(al-Aqrʿ)
al-Hijr,	al-Ḥanifiyyah,
Wādī al-Qurā,	al-Majz
	(al-Hijr)
	a small town on
	a small river.
	Wādī, a very small
	town on a small
	river.

Al-Idrīsī also differs from Ibn Khurradadhbēh in proffering information about some of the way-stations. Since al-Idrīsī does not try to give similar information about the inland route from Ailah to Medina, it is to be assumed that he had access to some first-hand data supplied by a traveller on this route.

Al-Iṣṭakhri<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>2</sup> state that there are two routes from Syria to Medina, one from Palestine through Ailah,

1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, 27-8.

2. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

and the other, by implication, from Damascus through Tabūk. Both routes require twenty days' journey. Neither al-Iṣṭakhri nor Ibn Ḥauqal attempts to map either route.

Al-Muqaddasī<sup>1</sup> is the first Arab geographer to record the fact that three Syrian pilgrim routes converge at Taimā'. Though all three routes start from Amman, only one requiring eight days' journey to reach Taimā' leads through Tabūk. The second route leads through Thajr and takes twelve days all in all. The third leads through al-Nabk (north of Taimā') and requires thirteen and a half days. He mentions that these three routes are the choice of most Arabs (tribes), and adds that the Umayyads used these routes for their postal services. Nevertheless, he says that many Syrians travel along these routes from Amman to Mecca, and that he himself had followed them more than once. Al-Muqaddasī mentions on this occasion that these routes are safe and short. To judge by his other accounts, they were neither. The irony of this statement is illustrated by another, following close on its heels, that the natives there often take to highway robbery if pilgrims do not engage a native escort or protect themselves by force of arms. He says that pilgrims had been attacked and robbed of their beasts of burden and of their property. On another occasion also, he describes these routes as unsafe. He has handed on descriptions of numerous way-stations on these routes, especially of minor watering places in the desert about which he complains vociferously. His account has probably been written in several successive stages as some of the distance measurements are contradictory. On one occasion, he refers to Taimā' as situated at four days' journey from Tabūk, but on another

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-52.

he speaks of seven days. It could be the influence of early sources.

Al-Hamdānī does not mention the Syrian pilgrim route, though he implies that the way from Medina to Syria passes through Taimā'.<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether he has this route or the other through Ailah in mind when he states that Syrian and Egyptian pilgrims can avoid Medina by deviating from the main route, travelling from al-Suwaidā' to al-Sayālah by way of Uwāl (Dhū Uwān).<sup>2</sup> Like al-Muqaddasī, al-Hamdānī states that travellers there are advised to have an escort among the natives,<sup>3</sup> his implication being that no traveller is safe there without a native escort. He also mentions two routes from Khaibar to Medina, one which is a short-cut and the other through Ḥiṣn B. 'Uthmān (west of Khaibar), and adds that a route leads from al-Ḥijr to Taimā', without naming the stations on this route.

Al-Bakrī<sup>4</sup> mentions fifteen mosques of the Prophet between Medina and Tabūk, erected on the places at which the Prophet is known to have prayed on his return journey from Tabūk to Medina. However, it is impossible to assume that there are known mosques at all places at which the Prophet has prayed since he has no doubt prayed at least at three different places every day. The distance between Tabūk and Medina is too great to be covered in five days by an army whose beasts of burden were emaciated and few in numbers. There may be mosques at the main halts at which the Prophet not only prayed, but also encamped to

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 131.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

4. al-Bakrī, *Mur'jam*, p. 1223.

rest. Though al-Bakrī seems to rely on Ibn Hishām's account with regard to these mosques,<sup>1</sup> he differs from him in omitting al-Akhḍar and Dhul-Jifāh which he mentions in another context,<sup>2</sup> locating al-Akhḍar at four days' journey from Tabūk. It should be three days. Dhātul-Khaṭmī is located, in another entry, at five days' journey from Tabūk.<sup>3</sup> This is no doubt due to inadvertence, as he mentions, apart from al-Akhḍar, two halts between Dhātul-Khaṭmī and Tabūk which means that the distance could be covered in four days only. This equals, according to Musil,<sup>4</sup> an average of 25 km, which can be assumed as fairly reasonable for the «army of hardships». It is almost certain that these mosques are enumerated in their geographical order though Musil suggests that al-Ṣaʿīd الصعيد is identical with Saʿīd سعيد, located at 100 km. northwest of al-Ḥijr and not south of it as would appear from Ibn Hishām's account. In fact, al-Ṣaʿīd, or Ṣaʿīd Qurḥ, was the capital of Wādi al-Qurā which lies south of al-Ḥijr. Musil also identifies the mosque of Ḥauḍā' with the well of al-Ḥauṣā' at some distance north east of Tabūk, and not to the immediate north of al-Ḥijr according to the location of Ibn Hishām. In fact, the Prophet did not travel beyond Tabūk.

In another entry, al-Bakrī, quoting al-Sakūnī, indicates that the route from Medina to Tamā' leads through al-Ḥijr.<sup>5</sup> Beside this route, he mentions three others from Medina to Taimā', one by way of Silāḥ and al-Jināb; another by way of Fa'id and Judad, and a third by way of Fa'id and Jafr al-Jufāf. The route from Medina to Taimā' via Silāḥ and al-Jināb leads no doubt through Khaibar. The first

1. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 530-531.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 124.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

4. Musil, *The Northern Hegāz*, p. 318.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 330.

reference to this route is met with in al-Bakri's *Mu'jam*. A century later, Khaibar is mentioned as a fortress on the Syrian pilgrim route.<sup>1</sup> In the year 555 A.H. (1160), the governor of Syria took this route for the *hajj*.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted, however, that the conventional route via Wādī al-Qurā was never deserted except in time of crisis. Al-Maqqdisi assesses the distance between Tabūk and Medina at ninety parasangs.<sup>3</sup> His source seems to be al-Mas'ūdī.<sup>4</sup> Their estimate of the distance seems to be accurate. Waki' enumerates thirteen halts between Suragh and Medina, and reiterates that the Egyptian and Syrian routes converge at al-Suqyā.<sup>5</sup> He also mentions the route from Medina to Khaibar<sup>6</sup> and the route to Fadak.<sup>7</sup> The lack of other information on these routes, of which he has no first-hand knowledge, indicates that his sources here are of minor value. He also lists the mosques of the Prophet between Medina and Tabūk without proffering any information.<sup>8</sup> During the late 7th and the early 8th centuries, the pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca was in a good state of repair and many caliphs tried to make the journey less arduous for the pilgrims. 'Uthmān, Marwān, al-Walid I and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz attempted to ensure adequate provision of water for pilgrims on this route.

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1. Al-Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

2. Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 176.

3. Al-Maqqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 239.

4. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 270.

5. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 114.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 75.

6. *Ibid.*, fols. 74-75.

8. *Ibid.*, fol. 115.

TABLE IV: Suragh-Medina route

Ibn Khurra- dadhbeh	Waki'	Ibn Rosteh	Qudāmah	al-Idrīsī
Suragh	Asra' (Suragh )	Suragh	Suragh	Suragh
Tabūk	Tabūk	Tabūk	Tabūk	al- Bathniyyah
al-Muḥdathah	al-Muḥdathah	al-Muḥdathah	al-Muḥdathah	al-Muḥdathah Dimnah
al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	al-Aqra'	Tubūk
al- Junainah	al- Junainah	al- Junainah	al- Junainah	al- Muḥdathah
al-Ḥijr	al-Ḥijr	al-Ḥijr	al-Ḥijr	al-Aqra'
Wādī	Wādī	Wādī	Wādī	al- Junainah
al-Qurā	al-Qurā	al-Qurā	al-Qurā	al-Ḥijr
al-Ruḥaibah	al-Suqyā	al-Ruḥbah		
Dhul- Marwah	(then to Medina with the	Dhul- Marwah		Wādī
al-Marr	Egyptian pilgrims	al-Marr		al-Ruḥbah
al- Suwaidā'	on the	al- Suwaidā'	Medina	Dhul- Marwah
Dhū	inland route)	Dhū	Marwah	al-Marr
Khushub		Khushub		
Medina		Medina		al-Suwaidā Dhū- Khushub Medina

## VII— *AL-NAQIRAH-MEDINA ROUTE*

Table V (pp. 379-80)

Ibn Khurradadhbeh<sup>1</sup> states that there is a diversion on the Kufa-Mecca route at al-Naqirah in the direction of Medina. That he regards it as a diversion from the main route is implied by the fact that he does not mention the «evening meal» halts as he does on the main route to Mecca. Pilgrims who prefer to visit Medina as well as Mecca follow this route to Medina and then embark on the Medina-Mecca route. He records some information about water facilities on this route. Qudāmah follows him to the letter,<sup>2</sup> but Ibn Rosteh's account is more detailed than theirs.<sup>3</sup> It contains the reference to one «evening meal» halt and several mentions of distances between intervening places. Even the information he gives on the water facilities on this diversion is richer than that of Ibn Khurradadhbeh. He also mentions some historical data concerning these facilities. Though Ibn Rosteh agrees with Ibn Khurradadhbeh with respect to the actual number of way-stations to Medina, and the names of the halts on this route, he differs from the latter on the total distance between al-Naqirah and Medina. Indeed, the sum of the detailed distances between al-Ṭaraf and Medina in

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1. Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

Ibn Rosteh's account is, at twenty-five miles, two miles short of his own total of twenty-seven. Despite these shortcomings, Ibn Rosteh's assessment of the total distance is, at 126 or 128 miles, less mistaken than the 137 miles quoted by Ibn Khurradadbeh. Al-Ya'qūbī<sup>1</sup> does not mention the distances and even differs from Ibn Khurradadbeh in locating Baṭn Nakhl to the immediate north west of al-Naqirah instead of al-'Usailah. He has also Ṭarafah instead of al-Ṭaraf. Ibn Khurradadbeh is correct in both respects.

Al-Hamdānī<sup>2</sup> regards this route as a continuation of the Iraqi main route to Mecca, his assumption being that pilgrims go via Medina and return via Dhāt 'Irq. He is partly correct, as Iraqi pilgrims usually do not pass through Medina twice. Al-Hamdānī's mileage for this sector of the route is, at ninety-eight miles, too short to be acceptable. Besides, his information, in this account, is limited to degrees of latitude. Al-Asadī's account of this route is not given in a complete form. Moreover, the accounts attributed to him are contradictory. There is Bi'r Rukānah,<sup>3</sup> which he situates at ten miles from Medina and two miles from Bi'r B. al-Muṭṭalib, mentioned in another passage as al-Rikābiyyah, and in a third as Bi'r Abū Rukānah<sup>4</sup>. Another example is the alleged statement that the distance between al-Nukhail and Medina is forty-five miles<sup>5</sup> whereas, in another passage, this distance is described as more than

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1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 312.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, p. 184.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1138.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1158.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1149.



sixty miles.<sup>1</sup> Bi'r Rukānah, called al-Rukāniyyah by Ibn Rosteh but printed al-Rikābiyyah, is said to be the farthermost frontier of al-Ṭaraf آخر عمل الطرف in the direction of Medina according to al-Asadī,<sup>2</sup> but this is misread in another passage as «the last of the upper-most of al-Ṭaraf آخر اول الطرف». <sup>3</sup> Al-Shuqrah is situated at twenty-four miles from al-Nukail. <sup>4</sup> Al-Samhūdī quotes al-Asadī to the effect that there are more than 300 wells at al-Nukhail all with good quality water. <sup>5</sup> He also quotes al-Asadī as situating al-Nakhl at forty-five miles from al-Rabadhah. <sup>6</sup>

Al-Muqaddasī mentions that Baṭn Nakhl is equidistant between Medina and al-Naqirah, at two days' journey from either. <sup>7</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī situates al-Ṭaraf at thirty-six miles from Medina, and Baṭn Nakhl at four postal stages from Medina. <sup>8</sup> While the last quoted figure is more or less accurate, the former cannot be accepted, as al-Ṭaraf lies half-way between Baṭn Nakhl and Medina. Both figures are traceable to Ibn Sa'd. <sup>9</sup> 'Arrām mentions Baṭn Nakhl as lying on the route to Medina<sup>10</sup>. The same account is repeated by al-Bakrī<sup>11</sup> who also quotes al-Sakūnī who mentions Nakhl as situated on the route to al-Naqirah and Fadak from Medina. When al-Bakrī states that al-Shuqrah is a village on the derelict route to Medina,<sup>12</sup> he implies that there was more than one route from al-Naqirah to Medina.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1319.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1158.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1149.

7. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

8. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 253.

9. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 62, 63.

10. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

11. al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1016.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1138.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1138.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1149.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 749.

Al-Shuqrah is mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh as situated on the diversion from al-Naqirah to Medina. No information is traceable as to how or when this route was diverted from al-Shuqrah.

Al-Idrisi<sup>1</sup> follows Ibn Khurradadhbeh as regards this sector with the exception of assessing the distance between al-Ṭaraf and Medina at fifteen miles instead of the thirty-six miles quoted by the latter. Al-ʿUsailah is given in a corrupted form: al-ʿUmlah. Though the information about the halts seems to be expanded, it actually remains within the outlines laid down by Ibn Khurradadjbeh. Wakiʿ maps two diversions from al Naqirah to Medina, an ancient route called al-Akhrijah,<sup>2</sup> and a new one leading through al-ʿUsailah<sup>3</sup> which figures in the other geographers. He quotes the distance in miles on the former, but not on the latter on which he quotes a poet. His own description of al-ʿUsailah diversion seems to be missing from the MS.

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1. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 42.

2. Wakiʿ, *Manāzil*, fols. 68-70.

3. *Ibid.*, fols. 83-84.

Table V: Al-Naqirah-Medina pilgrim route with the mileage

Ibn Kurradadhbēh	Wakī'	Al-Ya'qūbī
al-Naqirah, 46	al-Naqirah,	al-Naqirah,
al-ʿUsailah, 36	al-Muḥdath,	Baṭn Nakhl,
Baṭn Nakhl, 22	al-ʿUsailah,	al-ʿUsailah,
al-Ṭaraf, 35	Baṭn al-Nakhl,	Ṭarafah,
Medina.	al-Ṭraf. Medina	Medina.

Wakī' also maps this ancient diversion to Medina which he calls al-Akhrijah:

Faid	Ḥusayy
27½ miles	34
al-Akhrijah	Arqam
6	24
Liḥyay Jamal	al-Sa'd
6½	25
Azmam	al-Nukhail
2	18½
al-Ṭalūb	al-Shuqrah
	24

Ghamrat Marzūq    Bi'r al-Sā'ib

20 $\frac{1}{2}$

24

al-'Unābah

Medina

27

Ibn Rosteh	Qudāmah	al-Hqmdāni	al-Idrīsī
al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah	al-Naqirah
43	46	26	46
al-'Usailah	al-'Usailah	al-'Usailah	al-'Umlah
36	36	28	36
Baṭn al-Nakhl	Baṭn al-Nakhl	Baṭn Nakhl	Baṭn Nakhl
22	22	20	22
Ṭaraf	al-Ṭaraf	al-Ṭaraf	al-Ṭaraf
27	35	24	15
Medina	Medina	Medina	Medina

## VIII— AL-NAQIRAH-MECCA-ROUTE

Table VI (pp. 135-7)

Almost all geographers, with the exception of Waki' and al-Hamdānī, imply that the Iraqi pilgrim route leads to Mecca via al-Naqirah with a diversion at al-Naqirah for those who want to visit Medina. As seen before, al-Hamdānī implies that both routes constitute, in fact, one main route, since the majority of pilgrims go by way of Medina and return through Dhāt 'Irq, or vice versa. This is also the implication of a poem quoted by Waki'.<sup>1</sup> Al-Asadī, however, observes that some, including al-Rashīd, began by visiting Medina, but returned to Mecca by the Najdī route which leads through al-Arḥaḍiyyah and the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim.<sup>2</sup> The stations as far as Mecca are mentioned by all geographers except al-Muqaddasī who stops at al-Ghamrah. Qudāmah<sup>3</sup> stops at Dhāt 'Irq, but completes the number of stations in another account,<sup>4</sup> without giving the mileage on the last mentioned addition. All geographers apart from al-Ya'qūbī quote the mileage on this route from station to station. None of them, except al-Hamdānī, records the latitude of these

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1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 79-84.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1224.

3. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

stations. Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Rosteh<sup>2</sup> alone mention the intervening «evening meal» halts between stations. They all try to proffer some sort of information about this route except al-Ya'qūbī whose interest in this aspect of pilgrim routes wanes at al-Naqirah.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khurradadbeh, followed by Qudāmah and al-Muqaddasī, errs in placing the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim east of al-Salilah and al-'Umaq immediately west of al-Rabadhah. It should be placed west of al-'Umaq and east of Ufaīyah.

Al-Muqaddasī's account is identical with that of Ibn Khurradadbeh as regards the mileage, the names of the stations and their actual order. He, however, differs from the latter in the omission of the water facilities at some stations and in the mention of these facilities at others. On the whole his attitude is more critical than that of Ibn Khurradadbeh. Al-Ya'qūbī agrees with Ibn Rosteh on the number of stations, except for al-Salilah which he omits. Ibn Rosteh follows Ibn Khurradadbeh on the number of stations and on the names of the «evening meal» halts, but he does not mention the one between Ibn 'Āmir's Bustān and Mecca. Owing to Ibn Khurradadbeh's erroneous location of the Ma'dan of B. Sulaim, his «evening meal» halts differ from those of Ibn Rosteh whose information on this route is richer than Ibn Khurradadbeh's, as the former is concerned, in addition to the water facilities, with the history of the places discussed and the origin of their inhabitants. Moreover, Ibn Rosteh mentions the total distance between Mecca and Baghdad on both courses, while Ibn Khurradadbeh

1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

2. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9.

3. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, p. 312.

mentions only the total of the main branch of the route. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Rosteh refers to the discrepancy between the total distance and the sum of the detailed distances on the route from Basra to Mecca, his declared intention being to revise the assessment.

The information proffered by Qudāmah about stations on this route is similar to that of Ibn Khurradadbeh. His total of the distance up to Dhāt 'Irq is 205, thirty-six miles shorter than that of the latter. Al-Hamdānī's total for the whole sector is 247 miles, also thirty-five miles below Ibn Khurradadbeh's total mileage. Al-Hamdānī<sup>1</sup> is the only geographer to mention the stations eastward from Mecca. He is also the only one to refer to the latitude of these stations, though he acknowledges his debt to an Iraqi author in this respect. Al-Samhūdī has preserved parts of al-Asadī's account of this route, which represent a valuable geographical description of some halts. Indeed, he seems to discuss this route in all its details as he proceeds from the ancient site of Dhāt 'Irq. for about eight miles to the contemporary Dhāt 'Irq. He mentions, and locates, the cistern of Auṭās together with a mosque of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> He also pays a good deal of attention to the wells and cisterns of Ufaī'iyah and the origins of its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> He does the same with regard to al-Rabadhah which he locates at four days from Medina.<sup>4</sup> Waki's account of this route is by far the most detailed and accurate of all complete descriptions of this route by any author of this period.<sup>5</sup> It contains the mileage

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1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 185.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1033.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1129.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1091.

5. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 12-20.

of the distance between the major halts as well as between the intervening places, references to some short-cuts and diversions, and to other routes converging with this route. A good deal of attention is paid to the history of these halts and the facilities they offered to pilgrims, such as, for instance, the «light-house» at Umm Khurmān where the Kufa-Mecca and Basra-Mecca routes converge. As to al-Idrisī, he does not fulfil his promise to enumerate the stations on the route from Baghdad to Mecca.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Al-Idrisī, *op. cit.*, fol. 42.



## IX— CONCLUSION

It can be said that most of the pilgrim routes leading through the Hijaz were in use in the pre-Islamic era and were the subject of continuous care in the early centuries of Islam. The route from Basra to Mecca was a purely Islamic innovation — Ibn ‘Āmir did a great deal to facilitate its use by having wells dug at some of its halts in the 7th century. In the 8th century Muhammad b. Sulaimān, the Abbasid prince and governor of Basra, ordered the route over the vast marshes west of al-Dathīnah to be paved with stone since it was impassable after rain, a project which was carried out except for eight miles.<sup>1</sup> As to the Kufa - Hijaz route, Caliph ‘Uthmān initiated certain improvements; the Abbasid caliphs gave it priority; al-Saffāḥ erected mile-stones on it, lighthouses in the desert and rest-houses; al-Manṣūr increased the number of rest-houses; and al-Mahdī paid special attention to the upkeep of the route as well as the buildings along it and had cisterns dug at the halts. None, however, did more for this route than Zubaidah from whom the two official routes Basra - Mecca and Kufa - Mecca derive their names: *درب زبيدة* *darb Zubaidah* (Zubaidah's route). She had many a cistern dug there, and made many difficult parts on it accessible. Al-Mutawakkil erected the mile-stones on the Medina-Mecca route which had been provided with wells by most caliphs. Difficult

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1. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

parts of the pass of Ailah were partly levelled by the Tūlūnids.<sup>1</sup> The improvement made by the Umayyads on the Tabūkiyyah route consisted mainly of digging wells. No mile-stones were erected on non-Iraqi routes in the Hijaz until late in the 10th century when mileages were first mentioned on the Egyptian route to the Hijaz which implies that calculation in miles there was introduced by the Fatimids. There were places on the Iraqi routes where fires were lit to guide pilgrims in the desert, especially where the routes converge.<sup>2</sup> These fires might have also been lit in times of emergency. Where the route bifurcates, there were road-signs to indicate points of bifurcation. It emerges from the accounts of Waki' and al-Asadi that the mile-stones between the postal stages which had their own numbers, bore the figures from one to twelve. Some postal stages are given certain names.<sup>3</sup>

The most discussed pilgrim routes during the period under consideration are those used by the Iraqis, mainly those leading from Kufa to Mecca, Kufa to Medina and Medina to Mecca. Far less information is supplied on the other Iraqi routes: the Basra-Hijaz, Samarrā-Hijaz and Wāsiṭ-Hijaz, though they are mentioned and their distances are quoted in miles by Waki' and al-Sakūnī. Pioneers in this respect, who are no doubt independent from each other, though their sources are not necessarily different, are Ibn Khurradadbeh and Waki'. Both authors seem to have

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1. Al-Ḥimyarī, *Raḍ*, fol. 40.

2. See Lughdah, *op. cit.*, p. 376; Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fol. 43; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, vol. 3, p. 81; and Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 18.

3. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, pp. 1141, 11012, 1017 and Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 2, 4, 5.

utilized the official archives or religious and literary works. Waki' is better informed, and seems to possess more first-hand knowledge about these routes than any other geographer except perhaps al-Sakūnī whose concern is not limited to the pilgrim routes as he records many others, especially those frequented by the *Zakāh* collectors. Al-Asadī seems to have incorporated most of Waki's information which he enriches with personal observations. Al-Hamdānī is unique in recording the degrees of latitude of all halts between Mecca and both Medina and Kufa in reliance on «some Iraqi authorities», possibly al-Fazārī or Ḥabash. Ibn Rosteh draws heavily on Ibn Khurradadbeh from whom he differs on some of the distances and on the succession of the halts about which his information is more detailed than that of Ibn Khurradadbeh. Ibn Rosteh is the first official geographer to calculate the distances on the complete Basra-Mecca route in mileage. Waki's assessment is, however, more consistent and detailed than that of Ibn Rosteh.<sup>1</sup> Qudāmah relies on Ibn Khurradadbeh and Ibn Rosteh, adding some information about the local postmasters and their residences. Al-Ya'qūbī maps the coastal route from Egypt to Mecca proffering ample information with respect to its inhabitants and the commodities available there. He seems to rely on 'Arrām with regard to the tribes of the region between Medina and Mecca. 'Arrām's is probably the first attempt at mapping the Najdī route from Medina to Mecca, which for reasons discussed elsewhere, is not entirely successful. Al-Muhallabī utilizes both al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn Rosteh, though he seems to resort to a new, possibly official, survey for the distances. According to him, the distance

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1. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 11, 91-99.

from al-Tha'labiyyah to Faïd is eighty-seven miles,<sup>1</sup> whereas Ibn Khurradadhbēh and Ibn Rostēh assess it at ninety-two miles, which is one mile less than the assessment of Qudāmāh, nine miles more than that of al-Hamdānī and two miles more than that of al-Muqaddasī. The latter enumerates more routes in the Northern Hijaz than any other geographer, but some of his information is contradictory. He is unsuccessful in mapping the route from Mecca to Medina, as he disregards the definitions of his predecessors, but gives room to information which, on some occasions, is contrary to fact. As to the other Iraqi routes, al-Muqaddasī follows Ibn Khurradadhbēh even where the latter errs with respect to the sequence of the halts from al-Naqirah to Mecca.

According to Ibn Khurradadhbēh, the total distance between Baghdad (he means Kufa) and Mecca is  $275 \frac{2}{3}$  parasangs = 827 miles.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Rostēh assesses the Kufa-Mecca route at 848 miles, and the Kufa-Medina-Mecca route at 960 miles.<sup>3</sup> Summing up the distances between the individual halts, one arrives in each case at a different total, namely 841, 838 and 948 miles respectively. Neither of them seems to notice this discrepancy, which may be due to scribal mistakes. According to al-Maqdisī, the Kufa-Mecca route is 765 miles,<sup>4</sup> which agrees neither with Ibn Khurradadhbēh nor with Ibn Rostēh. The most consistent and unequivocally clear estimate is that of Waki'. He quotes the total mileage between Basra and Mecca (675 miles);<sup>5</sup> between Baghdad

1. Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm*, p. 97.

2. Ibn Khurradadhbēh, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

3. Ibn Rostēh, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

4. Al-Maqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 90.

5. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 98.

and Mecca through Medina, (758 miles, minus six miles if one takes the short-cut from al-Ma'dan - of al-Naqirah - to al-'Usailah); and the postal stages between Baghdad and Mecca through Medina (sixty-two and two thirds — 752 miles).<sup>1</sup> His assessment of the length of the route from Baghdad to Mecca through Dhāt 'Irq seems to be 694 miles.<sup>2</sup> He also quotes the total mileage between Medina and Mecca as 200 miles.

The information provided by al-Bakrī in the *Mu'jam* contains the most detailed data on the Medina-Mecca conventional route because it is mainly derived from Wakī' or al-Asadī whom he does not even mention. In his *Masālik*, however, al-Bakrī refrains from mapping this route which is by no means a great loss. To judge by his description of the Ailah-Medina route, al-Bakrī could not have achieved, in his *Masālik*, the same degree of success as in *al-mujam*, because the sources on which he relied for the latter, at least as far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned, are clearly superior to those he used for *al-Masālik*. The only innovation there concerns the comparatively short distances covered by the daily journey from Ailah to Ḍubā.<sup>3</sup> The proximity of the halts to each other is probably due to the huge size of the pilgrim caravans and the leisurely habits of the users in al-Bakrī's time, as well as to considerations of safety which seem to have required that the whole party of pilgrims should travel together.

Safety conditions on the pilgrim routes of that time were often precarious. Before Islam, the tribes on these routes

1. *Ibid.*, fol. 54.

2. *Ibid.*, fols. 4-19.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 76.

used to exact a toll from the caravans.<sup>1</sup> The advent of Islam modified their greed for only a short while. Already as early as the 8th century, the Abbasid caliphs launched out on a policy of appeasement of the tribes on the Iraqi routes to Mecca. From the mid-9th century onwards, conditions on all pilgrim routes became intolerable. In opposition to the introduction of Turkish elements in the military ranks in the state, a very dangerous nationalistic revolt headed by a self-styled «caliph» broke out in 843. Though this unsuccessful revolt caused sudden change in the policy of the state in favour of the Arab soldiers,<sup>2</sup> the Iraqi pilgrims found themselves entirely at the mercy of these tribes whose greed was increased by the weakness of the central administration. The general uncertainty obviously favoured the aggressiveness of the tribes which began to bargain for the safety of the pilgrims. Caliph al-Muqtadir is said to have bought safety for the pilgrims between Medina and Mecca from B. Ḥarb,<sup>3</sup> and it is most likely that other tribes on other parts of the route were similarly bribed. An honest chief minister in Baghdad was confident that 5000 Arab horsemen would suffice to keep order on the Iraqi pilgrim route.<sup>4</sup> This indicates that most of the huge sums ostensibly spent on this purpose by the official contractors were misappropriated. However, no pilgrim route in the Northern Hijaz was ever safe after the mid-9th century, since they were passable only if the pilgrims were accompanied by a native escort or a sizeable military force.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1134. 2. See Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, pp. 361-363.  
 3. Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, vol. 1, p. 306. 4. ʿArīb, *Ṣilah*, p. 130.  
 5. See: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 131; al-Maqqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 252; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj*, p. 170; Naṣīr-i Khusrav, *op. cit.*, p. 89; and Ibn Jubair, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 134, 171, 205.

Pilgrim caravans began to steer clear of the troubled territories as far as possible. This happened on the Ailah-Medina route which was replaced by the coastal route before the 10th century. It also occurred a century later, on the Medina-Mecca route, where pilgrims preferred the coastal line after al-Munṣaraf to ensure a safe passage. Not all pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz followed the course of the pre-Islamic trade routes. The coastal route between Ailah and al-Jār, the old Medina-Mecca route and the Basra-Mecca route were mainly post-Islamic. The ancient route between Mecca and Syria was diverted from al-ʿIṣ to Medina, possibly for administrative rather than religious reasons.

The attention paid by the geographers to the *miqāts* (the points at which pilgrims start their rites) is considerable. However, only one out of the three *miqāts* in the Northern Hijaz, al-Shajarah, on the outskirts of Medina, has always had a definite location, and has been in use since the time of the Prophet, though its name has undergone two changes, first from al-Shajarah to Dhul-Ḥulaifah, and later to Abyār ʿAlī. As regards al-Juhfah, its location is of recent date since the part of the route on which it is situated was, for safety reasons, replaced by a coastal route. Thus it ceased to be a *miqāt* as early as the late 11th century. Most geographers describe it as the *miqāt* of the Syrian pilgrims. In fact, it has been solely used by pilgrims arriving from Ailah by the coastal route, mostly Egyptians and Magribis with a small admixture of Syrians. The main Syrian caravans came via Medina and had therefore to use al-Shajarah. As for Dhāt ʿIrq, it was assigned to Iraqi pilgrims as it proved more convenient for them than Qarn al-Manāzil, the *miqāt* allotted by the Prophet to pilgrims coming from Najd and

the rest of the east. Since the Prophet did not mention the Iraqis when assigning Qarn al-Manāzil for this purpose, 'Umar allotted Dhāt 'Irq to them. However, the original Dhāt 'Irq was forsaken in less than a century by most pilgrims who preferred to start their ritual in the modern section of the town, situated nearly a mile ahead of the ancient Dhāt 'Irq. Sa'īd b. Jubair, al-Shāfi'ī<sup>1</sup> and al-Asadī<sup>2</sup> express their preference for the old site, but this advice seems to have been unheeded. Indeed, by the 10th century, pilgrims began to start their ritual not only a mile but, according to al-Ya'qūbī, a full journey ahead of the right place, at al-Ghamrah. Ibn Rosteh states that only camel-drivers waited until Dhāt 'Irq. Qudāmah's statement that all pilgrims waited until Dhāt 'Irq is unlikely to have been correct at that time. Ibn Khurradadbeh assigns al-Mislah, two days before Dhāt 'Irq for this purpose, probably because the sources he utilized were out of date. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the pilgrims used to start their rites at al-Ghamrah as early as the late 8th century, which is implied in a eulogy on Zubaidah quoted by Waki'.<sup>3</sup> Al-Muqaddasī remains silent on this point. The tendency of the pilgrims to neglect Dhāt 'Irq is motivated solely by their concern for their own comfort for, by beginning the pilgrimage rites so far ahead of the assigned place, they succeeded in shortening their journey by virtually a whole day.

A similar controversy exists on whether it is preferable to visit Mecca or Medina first. The majority are of the opinion

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1. Al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm*, vol. 2, p. 119.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1033.

3. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 34.



that, as Mecca is the target, it should be visited first.<sup>1</sup> This of course does not apply to the Syrian pilgrims who could easily visit Medina before and after Mecca, as their route led through Medina already before the 8th century.

Camel-driving as a profession apparently goes back to the 8th century, i.e., the time of Abū Ḥanifah. Before that time, pilgrims used to keep their own camels ready for the pilgrimage journey.<sup>2</sup> By the time of al-Hamdānī, this profession had acquired a high prestige since not only al-Hamdānī himself, but even his father and some of his own teachers were all camel-drivers, and were familiar with the literary and administrative circles in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Nevertheless, many camel-drivers were so notorious that, for some pilgrims, the journey was not regarded as perfect without beating the camel-driver.<sup>3</sup>

The pilgrim amirate was founded in the early days of Islam for the pilgrims to be led, on their pilgrimages rites, by a representative of the absent head of state. This prime religious function was soon to become a minor duty. By the early Abbasid period, the governor was entrusted with more administrative and political power. They used to be very important dignitaries, as only the ablest administrators or the relatives of the caliph were appointed to this post. This was done, apparently, to familiarise the Hijazis with the Abbasid dynasty. Later, the custom developed into a sort of appeasement of the tribes on the route. By the 10th century, the governor was more concerned with the actual

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1. Al-Samhūdī, p. 83.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 3, p. 650.

3. See Ibn Qutaibah, *Maʿārif*, vol. 1, p. 230.

journey to Mecca than with the rites of pilgrimage. Instead of one governor for all pilgrims, it became almost necessary to have a governor for every pilgrim party such as the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Maghribi, the Yemenite and of course the Iraqi caravans. Fighting broke out in 341 A.H. (952), between the Egyptians and the Iraqi governors, both acknowledging the sovereignty of the same Abbasid caliph.<sup>1</sup>

The administration of the pilgrimage used to be a major topic of discussion not only among the officials but also among the religious authorities.<sup>2</sup> They laid down some rules to be followed in appointing governors of the *hajj*, their main concern being the political aspect of this office such as protection from highway robbery and the appeasement of the tribes on these routes, by offering them money on behalf of the pilgrims. The governor should also be efficient in allotting camping spaces to different groups of pilgrims and providing facilities for caravans.<sup>3</sup> Abū Ḥanifah and his followers were rather meticulous with respect to the details of contracts between pilgrims and camel-drivers, especially with regard to provisions and camping apparatus, the welfare of the servants, presents taken from Mecca to Iraq, transport charges and times of departure. It can be deduced from their account that the first ten days of Dhul Qi'dah were considered the usual time to set out from Kufa, with the fifth as the ideal date. To leave earlier was regarded as harmful for the pilgrims, and to leave later as inconvenient for the camel drivers who had to feed their camels at Kufa.

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1. Al-Fāsi, *Shifā'*, vol. 2, p. 192.

2. Al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, pp. 185-195.

3. Al-Farrā', *Aḥkām*, pp. 92-95.

It was ruled that the distance from Kufa to Mecca amounted to a journey of twenty-seven days, except for the route via Medina which lasted thirty days. The *hajj* rites at Mecca added six days to the journey. If a pilgrim died at Mecca after the completion of the *hajj* rites, the camel driver was, according to the Ḥanafīs, entitled to 11/20 of the cartage only on the direct route to Mecca: to 12/21, if the route led through Medina on the return journey: to 11/21, if the stay in Medina happened during the outward trip: to 6/11 if the circular route via Medina was planned.<sup>1</sup>

There were several settlements on the pilgrim routes whose only purpose it was to trade with the pilgrims. With the passage of time some of these settlements, such as Faid and al-Juḥfah, became permanent. The former, half-way between Kufa and Mecca, used to be the residence of the governor of the pilgrim route who was usually a member of one of the dominant local tribes such as B. Asad and B. Tamīm. The Basra-Mecca route led to Dhāt 'Irq, but some pilgrims used to follow a diversion to the north west in order to join the pilgrims arriving by the Kufa-Mecca route to visit Medina. In times of crisis, the Iraqi pilgrims followed the Syrian route to avoid the menacing tribes,<sup>2</sup> but did so with little success, as disorder was by no means limited to one region of Arabia.

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1. Al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, vol. 16, pp. 18-23.

2. Al-Fāsī, *Shifā'*, vol. 2, p. 216.



## **PART THREE**

### **GENERAL OBSERVATIONS**

1911

1912

## I— *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS*

The Arab geographers differ widely in their treatment of the Northern Hijaz. Some of them are inconsistent in their treatment of separate parts of this region, and various aspects of its geography. Moreover, cases are not rare where their own reports about this region are found to conflict not only in different works, but also within one and the same work.

In the majority of geographers, Arabia is by no means the most discussed part of the empire. Nor is the Northern Hijaz always the most discussed of the regions of *Arābia*. Besides, the attention accorded to different parts of the Northern Hijaz varies. The southern part of this region is understandably treated in most detail, since it is the stretch of territory between Mecca and Medina more frequented by the pilgrims than any other part of the Northern Hijaz. Hence the abundance of information which renders this region the least disputed among the authors. The localities are generally known, and mistaken locations, though by no means occasional, are often easy to detect and rectify. The information on the Northern Hijaz can be divided into five categories:

1. pre-Islamic, mainly derived from *Jāhili* poetry and vague Arab conceptions of the pre-Islamic Northern Hijaz;

2. purely Islamic in nature, originating in the *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*;
3. stemming from the first-hand knowledge of early Arab authors who frequented Arabia for literary reasons, and of well-informed natives who resided outside Arabia;
4. archives of administrative departments; and
5. the personal experience of the geographers themselves.

Jāhili poetry represents the main source of information for the early works on Arabia. This is true of al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbaydah whose influence on literary circles was prominent, and whose data are often very detailed. As to Arabia's pre-Islamic past, the Northern Hijaz is fortunate in that the ancient caravan routes from Mecca and Medina to Syria used to be of great importance to the people of the Northern Hijaz, so that many towns on these routes were both flourishing and famous. It is mainly data derived from the pre-Islamic legacy that have now made possible the location of the southern frontier of «Provincia Arabia» or «Qurā ʿArabiyyah» and, indeed, illuminated the origin of the words ʿArab and Aʿrāb. That this concept of Qurā ʿArabiyyah was so soon disregarded is ascribable to numerous alterations which rendered it so unacceptable that many geographers do not seem to be conversant with the meaning of Qurā ʿArabiyyah or even the accurate form of its name.<sup>1</sup> The demarcation of the Hijaz by Ibn ʿAbbās is no doubt inherited from pre-Islamic times, This demarcation has

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1. *Supra*, pp. 190-219.



been accepted by most geographers, though the transmitters have obscured its meaning by one or two uncalled-for additions. There are also the translations of the works of Dioscorides, Ptolemy and Hermes<sup>1</sup> which have been utilized by both al-Bakrī and al-Hamdānī in so far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned. Ibn al-Kalbī is the most quoted source on pre-Islamic information about this region. Ibn al-Muqaffa' of the 8th century refers to the very ancient past when he states that the Arab steppe used to be covered with water.<sup>2</sup> The great al-Birūnī adds colour to the story by referring to actual finds of marine life among the excavated remains of that region which led him to the same conclusion.<sup>3</sup> There are also the references to archeological discoveries and ancient monuments in this region which were known to the Arabs and are mentioned by al-Zurqī, al-Mas'ūdī, al-Hamdānī, al-Muqaddasī, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Iṣṭakhri. Both al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī seem to draw on this information,

As to purely Islamic sources, the commentators on the Qur'ān as well as the *Muḥaddithūn* and the early historians derive their information from number of geographical references with a bearing on many localities in the Northern Hijaz, their proximity to Medina, their population and the revenue they yield. Among the Arab geographers, al-Mas'ūdī is alone in exploiting this aspect of information in both his available works. Whenever possible, he ekes it out with

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1. Hermes, the herald of the Greek gods, trismegisto = the thrice greatest, the Egyptian Thot, is, to some Arabs, Hermes the philosopher and a reliable source on science. *Hermetica*, or part of it, seems to have been translated into Arabic.

2. Al-Maqqdisī, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 150.

3. Al-Birūnī, *Taḥdīd, Nihāyāt al-Amākin*, p. 21.

contemporary data on the inhabitants of these localities.

It is, however, the works of the early Arab authors who resided in Arabia as well as the native Arabian scholars, e.g. 'Arrām of the Northern Hijaz, who emigrated from Arabia, which represent the real progress in the development of Arab geography. These authors, mainly men of letters, catered for the demands of their disciples by giving accurate descriptions of the localities mentioned in Arabic poetry up to the early 8th century. This school has produced many important works on the geography of Arabia. The work of 'Arrām, in particular, is the most advanced among them in that it pioneers regional geography proper. He is naturally interested in his native land which forms part of the Northern Hijaz. The influence of 'Arrām's work has been so great that no author has pointed out the many erroneous locations, ingrained in this work as early as the 10th century. The only exception is al-Bakrī's above-mentioned groundless criticism of al-Sakūnī.<sup>1</sup> 'Arrām's work has been borrowed almost in its entirety by al-Bakrī and yāqūt; some of it also to be found in Naṣr's *ḡibāl*. The description of Yanbu' and Raḍwā is quoted by Wakī'.

The administrative archives were utilized with respect to the Hijaz by the official geographers of Baghdad as well as by al-Muhallabī. They form, indeed, an important source of information about the mileage on the pilgrim routes measured up to their respective times. Many data proffered by the official geographers of Baghdad on the dependencies of Medina and Mecca are clearly taken from lists and records of the administration. It is only in the lists of the Medina

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1. *Supra*, p. 305.

dependencies as compiled by the official geographers that Qurā 'Arabiyyah is mentioned. Similar is the case with al-Wahīdah which does not figure in any other geographical work except theirs. Admittedly, al-Idrisī mentions both, but there is no doubt that, in doing so, he draws on the official geographers. It is noteworthy that al-Wahīdah has the distinction of being the subject of a very detailed and meticulous document, allegedly going back to a pre-Islamic date.<sup>1</sup>

The most interesting kind of geographical information is, of course, that supplied by geographers who are personally acquainted with the area. The dominant figure among them after 'Arrām is the late 9th century author Waki' whose mapping of the Iraqi pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz surpasses the description of this region by any other author except perhaps al-Sakūnī of the early 10th century. Though he has first-hand knowledge of the routes frequented by the Iraqi pilgrims, Waki' also relies on the data proffered by native scholars, such as Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, Ibn Jumai', Abū Ishāq al-Bakrī and a certain Nādir to whom Ibn Jumai' refers as the most reliable authority on the route between Medina and Mecca.<sup>2</sup> Waki' describes the mosques with meticulous care and equal accuracy in the assessment of the distances. Halts, springs, wells and cisterns are also most carefully listed. Poems in metre are recorded to serve partly memotechnical purposes for the better retention of the names of the halts on the Iraqi pilgrim routes. With respect to the distances, Waki' is the most consistent of Arab geographers. There is absolutely no danger of confusion, since he states the distance between two major halts before

1. *Supra*, pp. 301-2.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fol. 46.

he starts giving the distances of the intervening places, always in the direction of Mecca. Analogously to the official geographers, the information proffered by Waki' on the Iraqi pilgrim routes is superior to that he provides on the Syrian and Egyptian routes. Data on the Yemenite routes are even more exiguous than those proffered by Ibn Khurradadbeh or Qudāmah. This is of course due to Waki's inability to utilize the official archives on the routes of which he has no personal experience. The few cases of inconsistency found in Waki's work are mainly due to scribal omissions. The MS. teems with misreadings; some of its folios are misplaced and others missing. Waki', followed by al-Asadi and al-Sakūnī, combines successfully the method of the literary circles with the approach of the official geographers. Waki' seems to be a very important source to al-Asadi whose additions are often brief but always valuable. Al-Sakūnī also appears to have relied heavily on this work, though his description of the whole region is comparatively more detailed, since he describes even those parts of the Northern Hijaz which are not situated on the pilgrim routes. Al-Sakūnī is unique in that he combines his own experience with that of 'Arrām, al-Aṣma'i, Waki', Ibn Shabbah and Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī as well as that of his own masters.

Al-Hamdānī's early profession as a camel-driver is likely to have taken him to at least some parts of the Northern Hijaz. He gives data on the genealogy of the local inhabitants and their way of life which are of the highest value, though inferior to his information on other parts of Arabia. Here, he differs from al-Muqaddasī whose work is richer in detail on the Northern Hijaz than on other parts of Arabia. Al-Muqaddasī is alone among the Arab traveller-geographers

in paying more attention to the parts north of Medina than to the stretch between Medina and Mecca on which his information is unreliable. Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Iṣṭakhri resided there, so that their information is generally trustworthy. Al-ʿUdhri lived in Mecca for several years,<sup>1</sup> and the quotations attributed to him by al-Bakrī are informative. He seems to be al-Bakrī's source for the coastal route from Ailah to Ḍubā. Al-Zamakhshari also lived in Mecca, and his enumeration of the localities between Yanbu' and Mecca is orderly and accurate.

Those are the main geographers to discuss the Northern Hijaz. No doubt there are other authors whose information on that region is valuable, but they do not treat it as a geographical entity, and merely refer to particular localities in connection with some event or statement. Nevertheless, they have exerted some influence on succeeding geographers. The influence of Wahb, Ibn al-Musayyib, Mālik, al-Shāfi'i, al-Wāqidi, Shabīb, and even Ibn Ishāq is observable in the works of most Arab geographers. Authors of literary works have influenced both al-Bakrī (in the *Mu'jam*) and Naṣr. Prominent among these authors are Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Ḥarbi, al-Sukkari, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Ibn al-Anbārī, and Ibn Jinnī. There are also other authors such as al-Muhallabī - not to be confused with the geographer -, Ibn Wallād, al-Suhailī, ʿIyād and al-Samʿānī, whose works contain many valuable references to the Northern Hijaz. However, these works are not devoted to geography.

Apart from al-Bakrī - on many occasions - and Naṣr - on very few - none of the Arab geographers of the period under

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 582; and see al-Bakrī *Masālik*, vol. 74.

consideration seem to doubt the trustworthiness of their sources. True some of them, like Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Muqaddasī, voice some criticism, but it is symptomatic of a tendency to condemn a work as a whole which suggests other motives than a desire to rectify a particular mistake. Thus it is not surprising if al-Muqaddasī condemns the very work of al-Jāhīz which Ibn Ḥauqal praises.<sup>1</sup> The faith of the majority of these geographers in their sources is so profound that they have even attempted to reconcile diametrically opposed statements found in different sources. This is true of al-Bakrī and al-Idrisi with respect to some localities in the Northern Hijaz. Al-Muqaddasī's respect for his sources is even deeper since, though possessed of personal experience, he not only follows them in including descriptions of what he has already declared to be derelict routes, but also adopts Ibn Khurradadbeh's erroneous order of the halts of the Naqirah-Mecca route. Al-Hamdānī does not question the erroneous definition of Najd, Tihāmah and the Hijaz by three allegedly native poets of these regions. The most influential, and the least correct, source on the Northern Hijaz is 'Arrām's *ḡibāl* which not a single author has dared to put right. The book itself contains conflicting statements on Mts. Thāfil, Raḍwā and 'Azwar, and on Qu'aiqi'ān, Turabah and the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir as well as Kulayyah and al-Juhfah.

Understandably, the traveller geographers are not so deeply influenced by their sources as the compilers of geography or geographical references. The information of 'Arrām, al-Asadī, al-Sakūnī, and, to a lesser extent, of al-Aṣma'i, Abū 'Ubaidah, Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Zubair and al-Hamdānī,

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1. See Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 330; and al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

dominates the part of al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam* devoted to the Northern Hijaz. This *Mu'jam* is the most important work to discuss the whole region in detail. Because of its numerous entries and manifold sources, its statements on localities in the Northern Hijaz are not always correct or even consistent. The influence of Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh, al-'Udhri and al-Mas'ūdi dominates the other geographical work of al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik*, which cannot compete with *al-Mu'jam* except in inaccuracy and the number of misreadings. As regards al-Idrisī's *Nuzhah*, the influence of Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Bakrī is coupled with that of private informants, and to a lesser extent, that of al-Muhallabī. Naṣr's sources are also numerous, but he finds it easier to avoid inconsistency, as the statements in his book are relatively concise.

No geographer, except al-Idrisī, is equally exhaustive in his treatment of all parts of the Northern Hijaz. Being officials about to map the pilgrim routes, Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah exhibit a natural tendency to discuss the southern parts of this region on which their departmental archives supply more information than on the northern parts which are not frequented by Iraqi pilgrims. Though Wakī' is not an official geographer, his original information is limited to the Iraqi pilgrim routes. On the northern parts, al-Ya'qūbi, al-Muhallabī and al-Bakrī, in *al-Masālik*, seem to have had access to new sources. Al-Hamdānī is unable to provide on the northern parts of this region the same degree of information as on its southern parts, namely the stretch between Medina and Mecca. Dr Ḥusain Naṣṣar rightly observes that 'Arrām is more informative on Tihāmah

than on the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> This is difficult to explain, since the Hijaz is his native land. Nor can it be accounted for by the scarcity of sources as he is a pioneer in this respect. Al-Muqaddasī does pay attention to the northern parts of this region, and not only to the pilgrim routes there. Though one has the impression that Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Iṣṭakhri accord equal treatment to all parts of the Northern Hijaz, their information on the south is, on the whole, superior to that provided on the north where they resort to traditions. Al-Zamakhsharī is most informative on the region between Yanbu' and Mecca of which his location is more accurate than the available MS. of 'Arrām. Al-Idrisi is intent on describing the localities in a way which would permit him to accord to many of them the same amount of attention and consults, so it appears, many sources to achieve this objective at the expense of accuracy. Naṣr's treatment of this region is also even, but he often neglects to describe its localities. Al-Bakrī's sources for his *Mu'jam* are richer in information on the south of this region than on its north.

Not all the Arab geographers deal with the Northern Hijaz, or even the Hijaz as such. The official geographers mention it mainly for the purpose of pilgrimage. They pay more attention to the pilgrim routes and the localities situated on them than to localities not frequented by pilgrims. Al-Sakūnī and al-Hamdānī, on the other hand, also seem aware of the need to describe localities and routes which are not connected with the pilgrims. Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Iṣṭakhri dismiss the pilgrim routes in the Northern Hijaz with a few lines, and recoil from recording the tribal routes on the ground that their use was limited to the natives.

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1. *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Irāqī*, vol. 14, p. 204.



Al-Muqaddasi's original information is mainly on the localities on the pilgrim routes, but has little bearing on the routes themselves. He allots to the Hijaz a fairly sizeable section of his book. Al-Hamdānī also treats the Hijaz as a region of Arabia. Al-Sakūnī seems to be very meticulous in delineating the frontiers of every region, if not every individual locality. This is also the pattern observable in the works of 'Arrām, Waki', Lughdah and al-Asadi and, to a lesser extent, al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauqal. On the works of the authors who follow the climate system, the treatment of the Northern Hijaz is spread over two climates which, owing to the lack of first-hand knowledge of the region, gives rise to the erroneous location of parallel towns in two different climates. This occurs in the *Zīj* of al-Battānī,<sup>1</sup> the *Qānūn* of al-Bīrūnī<sup>2</sup> and the *Nuzhah* of al-Idrīsī.<sup>3</sup> Al-Battānī even describes al-Jār as the port of Mecca. The alphabetical system of al-Bakrī, al-Zamakhsharī and Naṣr does not allow for regional treatment.

Finally, it can be said that almost every Arab geographer of the period under consideration has his own special contribution to make to the geography of the Northern Hijaz. 'Arrām pioneers the regional geography proper. He is also informative on the fauna and flora of this region, its trade, agriculture and the ownership of its grazing lands. Waki' excels in measuring the distances even between almost contiguous localities, and in indicating the milestones and postal stages on the Iraqi pilgrim routes, and in mentioning the wells and springs in the Northern Hijaz. He is alone in

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1. Al-Battānī, *Zīj*, part I, pp. 234-241.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, *Qānūn*, pp. 551, 557.

3. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 34, 88.

locating all the mosques of the Prophet between Medina and Mecca including their respective distances. He is the first Arab geographer to record in the metre for the purpose of enumerating, in successive order, the halts on the pilgrim routes, in the form of *حذاء* *ḥudā'*, to entertain pilgrims by praising the caravan leader. Al-Asadī makes few, but important additions to Waki's work. Al-Asadī's information has provided al-Bakrī with most of his successful passages on this region. Al-Aṣma'ī, followed by Lughdah, delineates the tribal boundaries, and Abū 'Ubaidah enumerates, and comments on, the ancient battlefields of Arabia. By relying on many natives and tribesmen, al-Hajarī revives, at Medina, the old system of the Iraqi scholars. Ibn al-Kalbī records the early Arab conceptions of their peninsula. Ibn Khurradadbeh is the pioneer of official geography whose main concern was the global aspect. He mentions the distances and quality of water on the pilgrim routes and refers to the local revenues as well as the dependencies of Medina and Mecca. Ibn Rosteh proffers more historical information than Ibn Khurradadbeh, whereas Qudāmah surpasses the latter in matters relating to revenue and the residences of local postmasters. Al-Ya'qūbī is the first to record the coastal halts between Ailah and al-Jār as well as their original descriptions, agriculture, mines, trade and inhabitants. Al-Jāhīz is the first to allot to Arabia geographical precedence over the rest of the world because of the religious prominence of Mecca and Medina.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Faḡīh records additional eastern dependencies of Medina. Al-Hamdānī is the most reliable source on the demarcation of the Hijaz, and the inhabitants of its northern region. He records the latitude of all halts on the Iraqi pilgrim route from Kufa. He is also

1. Al-Jāhīz, «Ajā'ib al-Amṣār,» *al-Machriq*, vol. 60, p. 171.

the first to record exclusively geographical poems. Ibn Hauqal and al-Iṣṭakhri resided in the Hijaz and recorded the ways of tribal life there. Al-Mas'ūdi regards Medina as the centre of the region, and gives distances from it. He mentions the tribal descendants of the caliph Abū Bakr and of Ṭalḥah. Unlike al-Muqaddasī and al-Bakrī, al-Mas'ūdi is generally consistent in both his works. Al-Muqaddasī is the most disciplined among the Arab general geographers, as he consistently follows the system and phraseology he promises to adopt. He integrates the Hijaz into the general classification of all regions of the empire. Indeed the information he proffers on social life there is unparalleled. As regards the sectarian aspect of his work, it suffices to record that he was regarded as a source on theology.<sup>1</sup> No other geographer has mentioned more routes in the northern parts of the region than al-Muqaddasī. His careful consideration of its citadels, its main mosques, its guest-houses and the public baths is original. Al-Muhallabī proffers valuable and original information based on new surveys of the distances, inhabitants and sources of revenue as well as the climates in which its localities are situated. Al-Bakrī's *Masālik* is valuable in that he gives a new description of the Egyptian pilgrim routes from Ailah to Ḍubā, and mentions the ancient monuments of the Northern Hijaz. In the *Mu'jam*, al-Bakrī is the first Arab geographer to arrange entries in alphabetical order. Contrary to some opinions,<sup>2</sup> it is to the advantage of geography that al-Bakrī tends to record long geographical statements on many localities under the entry for one locality and then refers to them wherever the need arises. This is very valuable if one considers the possibilities

1. See al-Asfarāyīnī, *al-Tabṣīr*, p. 4.

2. See *Majallat al-Majma' al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī* vol. 14, p. 212.

of omission, misreading, misquotation and erroneous location which result from dividing such statements. Al-Zamakhshari accurately enumerates the valleys, wells, mountains and hills between Yanbu' and Medina. Naṣr's *jibāl* is a most reliable guide in defining the forms of the place-names. Al-Idrīsī's information on the contemporary standard of life of the natives, and on the treatment of the pilgrims at the hands of the ruler of Mecca, is both detailed and original.

## II— DESCRIPTION OF LOCALITIES

The Arab geographers vary in their approach to the description of localities. The early authors are mainly concerned with locating the places covered by their literary works. Chief among them is al-Aṣmaʿī whose detailed description of Arabia represented the main source of information for literary circles for a good many centuries. He defines the locality, its watering places, mountains and inhabitants. Abū ʿUбайдah seems to have followed the same pattern. ʿArrām is more interesting in this context since his work deals solely with parts of the Northern Hijaz. He follows al-Aṣmaʿī in beginning with the definition of the locality with its watering and grazing places and the genealogy of its inhabitants, but goes further and discusses trade, agriculture, drinking water, administration and the actual size of the towns and villages he deals with. He even seems surprised, on one occasion, that a certain village has not been accorded the status of a town in spite of its size.<sup>1</sup> His reference to the flora and fauna of this region is also of interest, since no other Arab geographer has tried to record information of this kind about the Northern Hijaz.

Wakīʿ, followed by al-Asadī, shares the concern for the description of many localities in the Hijaz, large and small, with his predecessors, but is unique in paying great attention

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1. ʿArrām, *Jībāl* p. 414.

to the mosques of the Prophet. No other geographer can claim equality with him in recording the actual location of the mile-stones and postal-stage points and in enumerating the wells on the pilgrim routes. His local character is more pronounced than that of any other geographer concerned with mapping these routes. His description of localities is more meticulous than of any other except al-Sakūnī whose range is wider than that of Wakīʿ, since he seems to have covered, among other things, virtually the whole of the Northern Hijaz. Unlike his contemporaries or even immediate predecessors, al-Sakūnī's concern is not limited to the pilgrim routes. Indeed the delineation of the *zakāh* collectors' routes is, for the most part, traceable to him. His detailed description of the *Ḥimās* (reserves or state-owned grazing lands) is far more efficient than that of al-Aṣmaʿī who describes it.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hajarī's description of localities in his *Nawādir* is of considerable value, though by no means equal to that of al-Sakūnī. What remains of al-Zubair's geographical work on *al-ʿĀqīq* is similar in approach to that of al-Aṣmaʿī. Lughdah follows al-Aṣmaʿī with respect to the description of locality according to the territories and watering places of particular tribes. Besides he mentions the mines of Arabia and their products. He even refers to the methods used in exploiting these mines, and to their ownership.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Khurradadbeh, al-Yaʿqūbī, Ibn Rosteh and Qudāmah supply very little information about localities which are not situated on the pilgrim routes of the Northern Hijaz, except for the enumeration of the dependencies of Mecca and

1. Dr. Salih, al-ʿAlī, «Al-Muallafāt al-ʿArabiyyah.» *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIraqī*, vol. 11, p. 155.

2. Lughdah, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381, 398.

Medina. Even as regards localities situated on the routes, al-Ya'qūbī is alone in describing the towns and villages on the coastal route from Ailah to Mecca which are only listed by Qudāmah, and ignored altogether by the other two. Al-Ya'qūbī does not attempt to provide original information about the Iraqi pilgrim routes, apparently because he feels satisfied with that proffered by Ibn Khurradadbeh. Al-Ya'qūbī's description covers the watering places, agriculture and mining. On the region between Mecca and Medina, his sole concern is the genealogy of the inhabitants. Ibn Rosteh adds some historical information on the halts listed by Ibn Khurradadbeh. Qudāmah ekes this out by some administrative details such as the places of residence of the local postmasters and the size of towns and villages. By the time of Ibn Rosteh, one of the villages listed by Ibn Khurradadbeh had acquired the status of a town, and by Qudāmah's time a second. None of these «official» geographers can compete with 'Arrām, Waki', al-Asadi, al-Sakūnī or al-Muqaddasi as regards the excellence of the geographical description of towns and villages in the Northern Hijaz. Ibn al-Faqīh's information on the localities in Northern Hijaz apart from Mecca and Medina is limited and is similar to the available abridgement of al-Jāhīz' *'Ajā'ib al-Amsār*. The former attempts to list the dependencies of Medina. It is in his work that some dependencies added to Medina such as al-Dathīnah, Faljah and Ma'dan al-Ḥasan in the distant south west appear for the first time.

Al-Hamdānī is alone in recording the latitude of virtually every halt on the Iraqi pilgrim route in the Northern Hijaz. Another, no less unique, aspect of his work is the revival of the ancient Arab approach of using poetry in defining

the localities in their actual geographical order. The Hijaz gets a lion's share of attention in a whole poem which enumerates almost all the major Hijazi localities as known to the poet.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hamdānī tries to distinguish between different homonymous places, an attempt further pursued by al-Bakrī and perfected by Naṣr. On the whole, al-Hamdānī's description of localities in the Northern Hijaz is less informative than that of 'Arrām, Wakī', al-Asadī or al-Sukūnī. It is also inferior to his own description of the Yemen, Tihāmah and Najd. That of al-Mas'ūdī is limited to the distances between one locality and another, for which he apparently relies on al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd. He occasionally refers to the genealogy of the inhabitants.

With the advent of the Fatimid geographers, the description of locality takes a new turn. The old method of describing the towns and villages individually within the framework of the provinces with more or less detail, is replaced by a commentary on maps provided for every region. Ibn Hauqal (and al-Iṣṭakhri) give original information about localities in the Northern Hijaz. Indeed, they seem to be the first general geographers to have travelled widely throughout the area. Thus the description of the towns and villages in the Northern Hijaz gradually assumes equal importance with the actual location which has been left to the maps - which are subject to alteration from one scribe to another. There is the mention of the size of every locality, its inhabitants, trade, agriculture, history and even antiquities. There is also the recurrent remark that certain places are only occasionally inhabited. Equally important is the reference to some «Beduin» tribes descending from eminent

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1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣiṣah*, p. 218.



early settlers, and to the tribes which inhabit different parts of the area. In the last mentioned respect, al-Hamdānī is superior to Ibn Ḥauqal.

Al-Muqaddasī's description of localities is by far the most exhaustive not only among the Fatimid geographers, but also among the general as well. It is also more varied than any other description. He seems to have a unique flair for the definition of towns and villages in the Hijaz, since he divides the region according to its provincial capitals to which he subordinates many towns, large and small.<sup>1</sup> He speaks of the locality, its citadel, mosque, agriculture and trade. He is also interested in the drinking water, the guest-houses and the public baths. Al-Muqaddasī allots the ports in the Northern Hijaz to corresponding inland capitals. His description is also unique in its inclusion of customs, costume and weights and measures. Indeed, the information he provides gives more space to social than to geographical details at the expense of the actual location which is not always accurate. Al-Muhallabī seems to draw on information found in al-Ya'qūbī's *Buldān*. Nevertheless he has also something new and valuable to offer such as the degrees of latitude and the climates, the inhabitants and the revenue. He also gives the distances on the Egyptian route to Mecca which is new, and the revised distances on the Iraqi routes.

Al-Bakrī has no first-hand knowledge of the region and the subject matter of his *Masālik* is almost alien to the description of localities with respect to the Northern Hijaz except that he mentions some specialities and antiquities,<sup>2</sup>

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 66.

and describes two or three towns in the extreme Northern Hijaz,<sup>1</sup> a description which is partly borrowed by the author of *Ākām al-Murjān*.<sup>2</sup> In his *Muʿjam*, al-Bakrī is more concerned with the literary heritage of the region. Nevertheless, the geographical value of al-*Muʿjam* is very considerable indeed because he quotes many sources which are not available elsewhere. Al-Idrīsī's description of locality is often derived from early geographers whom he sometimes misquotes. It is his merit that he proffers new information about many towns and halts in the Northern Hijaz, especially as regards the conditions of life of the natives and the treatment to which pilgrims were subjected. Al-Zamakhshari's main concern is to list the place-names, often without even locating them. He, however, adds a very valuable section in which he describes the mountains, valleys and watering places on the route between Yanbu' and Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Naṣr's approach is mostly limited to clearing up the confusion surrounding the forms of place-names which he locates in their respective regions. His locations are often correct, and his delimitation of the place-names is almost always accurate.

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1. *Ibid.*, fols. 12, 76.

2. See *Ākām al-Murjān*, p. 406.

3. Al-Zamakhshari, *Jibāl*, pp. 166 - 169.

### III— POETRY AS A MEANS OF LOCALITY DEFINITION

Ulrich Thilo believes that ancient Arabic poetry is richer than any other poetry in place-names because of the conditions of life which compelled the Arabs of the desert to move from one place to another and required that poets should record their previous dwellings in their poetry.<sup>1</sup> Their longing to revisit these places, together with their desire to preserve for posterity the «tribal register» led them to produce elementary «maps» of numerous parts of Arabia which helped to entertain their audience who were well acquainted with these parts. This was the early stage of Arab geography in which poets of the *ḡāhiliyyah* and early Islam realized the importance of accuracy in recoreing the places in their geographical order, though they felt entitled to distort the names occasionally to meet metrical requirements. This often led to different versions of one and the same name which is a trivial loss compared with the valuable basis provided by the rhyme and metre of poetry when it is a question of the right pronunciation of place-names. In research on the topography of this period one is, however, threatened by the ever-present danger of not only misreading a name, but of making unjustified assumptions about the vicinity of two places whose names occur in juxtaposition. This should be carefully examined, because it often happened

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1. Ulrich Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen*, p. 9.

that a tribe, driven or migrating from its habitat, longed for the localities it had left and gave their names to some of the localities where they had just settled. Similarly, there are always places named after plants, colours, after their size, the direction in which they lie or even after historical events, and this is not confined to a particular region. In the Northern Hijaz alone there is more than one place called 'Is, Suqyā, Ruḥbah, Marwah, 'Uwainid, Suwaiqah, Bustān, Hunain, Haql, Jār, Ma'dan, Marr, Rābigh, Ailah, Shajarah and Nakhlah, to name but a few. When al-Surair was mentioned beside al-Jār, for example, al-Bakrī located al-Surair near the sea<sup>1</sup> which is wrong, as al-Jār in question is the inland place near Khaibar and not the port of Medina.

It is obvious that the «literary» geographers were those most interested in this aspect of location, as it was conducive to a full understanding of the text. It was this motive that drove them to visit Arabia and linger there to collect more convincing data which would enable them to compete with their rivals in Basra, Kufa and even Baghdad. Thus Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' was rightly regarded as a great authority in expounding poetry up to his own time, because he had travelled widely throughout Arabia, and was able to locate most places mentioned by the poets. After 'Abū 'Amr, it became almost obligatory on those of his contemporaries and disciples who aspired to fame to follow his example. It was this movement that produced the earliest and most influential literary work on the geography of Arabia, *ḥazīrat al-'Arab* of al-Aṣma'i, parts of which are reserved in Lughdah's *Bilād al-'Arab*. Soon many prominent men

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 737.

of literature in Arabia itself realized that they would find it more profitable to take their knowledge to Iraq instead of waiting for potential disciples to come to them in search of it. Thus many well-informed Arabian men and women moved to Iraq where their residences were frequented by numerous scholars in pursuit of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Those men, termed «A'rāb», were a great source of geographical information for literary circles. They penetrated as far to the east as Naisābūr,<sup>2</sup> and many a prominent author studied under them. One of those «A'rāb», 'Arrām, was so filled with local patriotism that he dictated a book on Tihāmah and the Hijaz, which marked a further stage in the development of regional geography. In this work 'Arrām quotes only a few verses with a bearing on the definition of localities. Nevertheless, he was an important source for commentators on early Arab poetry, especially that of al-Khansā' whose poems he expounds, describing the localities whose names occur in them.<sup>3</sup>

The early Arab poets were very conscientious in their mention and definition of localities. They rarely mentioned one beside another unless there was actual proximity to warrant it, except when they explicitly voiced their despair at the long distance separating them. Even the town-settlers of Iraq of the early 9th century were not happy listening to a poet who listed localities between which there was no obvious connection. Thus Ibn Munādhir was obliged to change Ḥabbūd, a spring in al-Yamāmah, into 'Abbūd, a mountain

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1. See Ibn al-Nadim, *Al-Fihrist*, p. 114.

2. Al ṣafadi, *Nakt al-Humyān*, p. 97.

3. See al-Khansā' *Dīwān*, pp. 4, 17, 97, 103.

to correspond with Raḍawā,<sup>1</sup> which is not, even with this alteration, typical of the early Arab poets whose sense of locality was precise.

Arab general geographers did not study poetry in order to define names of places in Arabia or to locate them. Ibn Khurradadbeh quoted some verses containing place-names, and Ibn Rosteh, Ibn al-Faqih and al-Muqaddasī recorded some verses of poetry, but in so doing, their aim was solely to clarify a story. It was the regional geographers who partly relied on poetry as a basis for mapping the localities. Chief among them was al-Hamdānī who recorded many poems relevant to this. Indeed, he quoted three Arab poets from Najd, Tihāmah and the Hijaz, enumerating their respective regions in strictly geographical order.<sup>2</sup> It is almost certain that these poems were composed by one poet. Waki' records many poems in metre for the purpose of mapping the Iraqi pilgrim routes. Some of these poems go as far back as the 7th century.<sup>3</sup> Al-Hamdānī also records a long poem by al-Radā'ī, where the Yemenite pilgrim route was mapped. As to the other pilgrim routes through the Northern Hijaz, they had to wait for many centuries before being mapped in poetry. Al-Hamdānī rejected that they fell below the required standard.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, al-Hamdānī was very careful in choosing the «geographical» poetry to utilize in his book. This caution ensures that one can trust him as to the correct geographical order of the localities in the Northern Hijaz in the poems he quotes.

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1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 951.

2. Al-Hamdānī, *Sifah*, pp. 214-219.

3. Waki' *Manāzil*, fols. 75-90, 103-112.

4. Al-Hamdānī, *Sifah*, p. 234.

Al-Hajari's locations of place-names mentioned in poetry are numerous and correct. Though his poets are generally more or less his contemporaries, their sense of location is perfect. Al-Sakūnī also relies on poetry, and, indeed, records a story in which poetry has been used as a guide for discovering many localities.<sup>1</sup> Among the Arab geographers, al-Bakrī makes by far the most use of poetry in connection with defining localities in the Northern Hijaz. Owing to this fact, al-Bakrī's success in his *Mu'jam* is marred by many mistakes as regards the location of places. There is a particular poem about localities in the Northern Hijaz, which is unlikely to have been composed by an early Arab poet, since no such poet could have committed the mistake of listing a medley of place-names from different regions in an arbitrary succession.<sup>2</sup> In this poem, the following localities are listed apparently on the Mecca-Medina route — from south to north —: al-Safh, al-Na'f, Ghaul, Yalyal (near Yanbu'), Birām (south of Taif), Kudayy, Baṭn Marr, Masdūs, Khulais, Wajj (near Taif), Qudaid, 'Usfān (south of Qudaid), al-Juhfah, Kudaid (south of al-Juhfah), al-Rauḥā', al-Ruwaithah, al-'Arj, al-Abwā' (the order of the last four localities is reversed), al-Sayālah and al-Suqyā (north of al-Abwā' alone among the last five halts). This poem is absolutely devoid of any sense of location, and seems to have been an attempt to discredit Ibn al-Ruqayyāt's eulogy of the Zubairī's. In the prelude, Ibn al-Ruqayyāt lists the localities between Mecca and Medina — south to north — as follows: 'Usfān, al-Juhfah, al-Qā', al-Abwā', Ti'han

1. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol.1, p.894; Vol.2, p.1; Vol.3, pp.153, 262-263, 274, 563, 738, vol. 4, p. 356; and compare with al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 324-327.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1225.

and al-Suqyā. <sup>1</sup> A list of this kind, perfect in respect of the geographical order, is representative of that type of poetry which is so helpful in locating ancient places, and which modern scholars have come to appreciate for its topographical value. <sup>2</sup> Al-Bakrī often quotes a verse connected with another homonymous place. He also tends to locate a place in the homeland of the poet in whose verse it occurs, which is not always safe. Thus he places wādī al-Daum, mentioned by Kuthayyir, at the land of B. Ḍamrah. <sup>3</sup> Kuthayyir was not talking to 'Azzah, his Ḍamrī love, but to Buthainah, an 'Udhri beauty, on behalf of Jamil, an 'Udhri poet. Wādī al-Daum is situated in the 'Udhrah land. In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī refrains altogether from reciting poetry for the purpose of defining localities in the Northern Hijaz. Both al-Zamakhsharī and Naṣr quote «geographical» poetry to locate a place or to vocalize the form of its name.

In brief, it can be said that poetry was the most reliable source of locality definition in the early stages of the period under consideration. The existence of homonymous places in poetry induced authors to engage on *al-Mu'talif* and *al-Mushtarik*, which deal with the enumeration of homonymous places. The Northern Hijaz abounds with localities mentioned by poets, such as Kuthayyir and the Hudhailis, which became a subject of lengthy studies by prominent authors, such as al-Sukkarī, Ibn al-Anbārī, Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Bakrī. It was natural that the need to locate place-names occurring in poetry, for the purpose of which many

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1. Ibn al-Ruqayyāt, *Diwān*, pp. 170-171.

2. See Krachkovski, *Tārikh al-Adab*, vol. 1. pp. 43, 44.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 563.



scholars visited Arabia, should give rise to regional geography among the Arabs even before general geography. The Northern Hijaz, in particular, gained immensely from this development.

#### IV— RISE AND DECLINE OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN THE NORTHERN HIJAZ

During the period under consideration, a number of towns and villages appeared, while some others disappeared. In both cases the primal cause was often the position of the place on one of the routes. The movements of the tribes to and from the Northern Hijaz was another determining factor. A third cause was the political and economic situation in the area in question.

The convenience of the increasingly large pilgrim caravans required that a number of towns and villages corresponding, if possible, to the stages of the journey, should be found along their routes. The decisive factor was, naturally, water; if water was within easy reach, the halt would develop into a small village and, later, into a town provided that the prospects for agriculture and trade were promising there, as happened at Suqyā b. Ghifār, al-Sayālah, al-Rauḥā' and Nakhlah. In some cases, halts on the ancient trade routes in the Northern Hijaz which were followed by pilgrim caravans grew into flourishing towns and villages such as Dhul-Marwah, al-Ruḥbah and Suqyā al-Jazl. The religious requirements of *al-Ḥajj* necessitated the establishment of villages at the *mawāqit* (the starting points of pilgrim rites), since pilgrims had to bathe and change their garments there. Thus al-Juḥfah and Dhāt 'Irq changed into permanent

settlements able to cope with the needs of the pilgrims, some of whom indulged in trade.

Nevertheless, the pilgrim routes also exacted their toll. The number of villages on the ancient routes dwindled as they were abandoned in favour of newer, more convenient sites. In order to pass through Medina, the ancient caravans from Syria to Mecca were diverted at Dhul-Marwah from the ancient trade route to Mecca. Consequently, some thriving towns on the deserted part of this route, such as Ras al-‘Ain, al-‘Iṣ, Badr and Waddān were reduced to minimum proportions. Badr and Waddān were to thrive in later years in consequence of the re-routing of the pilgrim caravans which by-passed all towns and villages between al-Rauhā’ and Qudaid in favour of the coastal route. These localities even lost their agricultural importance, so that most of their inhabitants moved to halts on the new diversion or migrated to other regions. It is noteworthy that two large towns of considerable religious importance on that conventional route fell into oblivion as a result of the abandonment of the part on which they are situated. Those two towns, al-Abwā’, where the Prophet’s mother was laid to rest, and al-Juhfah, a prominent *miqāt*, were so thoroughly forgotten that it was not until very recently that they were correctly located. Such fluctuation in the course of the routes often caused a change of place-names. Thus al-Abwā’, Waddān became al-Khuraibah and Mastūrah respectively. The diversion of the inland route from Ailah to Medina caused the dereliction of many towns and villages between Madyan and Medina such as Shaghb, Badā, al-Baidā’, Suqyā al-Jazl, al-Ruhbah, Dhul-Marwah and al-Marr, all of which still flourished as late as the early

10th century. After the establishment of the coastal route at approximately that time, these ancient trading centres began to lose their importance. Most of them have not yet been definitely located.

The movement of the Arab tribes to the new Islamic region caused the decline of some ancient settlements, chief among which had been the mining centres in the Northern Hijaz. The newly emerging centres were rich in mineral resources and therefore attractive to expert miners of the Northern Hijaz who were fascinated by the wealth of the new mines. Besides, famines, by no means infrequent in the Northern Hijaz, drove many inhabitants out of this region.<sup>1</sup> Emigration was easy after Islam and the Arab tribes became free, and sometimes were paid, to emigrate to other parts of the empire, especially to Egypt and North Africa where they were sometimes politically useful. This occurred as late as the 11th century.<sup>2</sup> There had been numerous local mines in the Northern Hijaz, but they appear to have been deserted by the 9th century as they were neglected by their ancient owners, and disregarded by the nomadic newcomers, mainly B. Ḥarb and the Beduin descendants of the Companions. Thus while the Arab miners were busy exploiting the mines of North Africa,<sup>3</sup> the mines of the Northern Hijaz fell into the hands of inexperienced immigrants. The rich mines of the Northern Hijaz and the surrounding settlements were so forgotten that succeeding generations believed them to be derelict from times immemorial.

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1. Al-Zubairi, *Ansāb*, p. 246; Nāsir-i-Khusrav, *Op.cit.*, p. 67.

2. See ibn Muyassar, *Annales d'Egypte*, p. 6; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, p. 328; ibn al-Abbar, *I'tab*, pp. 199-200.

3. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 334-335, and Ibn Hauqal, *Op.cit.*, p. 53.

Among the political and economic causes of these vicissitudes in the life of towns and villages in the Northern Hijaz was the rise of the new wealthy class in Medina in the 7th and 8th centuries, which consisted of descendants of the Prophet's prominent Companions. Their wealth was so enormous that many a valley was irrigated and settled by them and their families. The valley of Yanbu' was developed by 'Ali and his descendants; al-'Iṣ by the descendants of Ibn 'Auf; al-Fur' by the descendants of al-Zubair; al-Juḥfah by those of Ja'far; al-Suwāriyyah by those of Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥah; and Waddān by those of Ibn Muṭī'. Many prominent Companions possessed shares in Khaibar and Wādī al-Qurā. Some descendants of Abū Bakr, 'Ali, Ja'far and Ṭalḥah, and some Anṣar became nomads and were officially encouraged to remain so by the Abbasids.<sup>1</sup> Those of 'Ali and Ja'far became prominent with settlements of their own, famous examples of which are Waddān, al-Abwā', Yanbu' and Suwaiqah, which was twice destroyed in the course of little more than a century by al-Manṣūr and by al-Mutawakkil.<sup>2</sup> Al-Manṣūr himself decreed that Medina should be deprived of the use of its natural port, al-Jār,<sup>3</sup> in an attempt to nip potential rebellions in the bud. Al-Wāthiq had a number of settlements in the Northern Hijaz destroyed in the aftermath of another serious rebellion. Bughā, the leader of this expedition, slew or captured many Arabs which accounts for the subsequent desertion of these settlements.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj*, p. 70.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 874; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 199.

3. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, vol. 3, p. 257.

4. See Abū 'Ubaidah, *al-Nakā'id*, vol. 2, p. 557.

One remarkable aspect of the procedure of establishing new settlements in the Northern Hijaz is that a number of places thought to be new and virgin sites were, in fact, ancient thriving settlements. Clear examples are the valley of Yanbu'. Shaghb, Badā, al-Suqyā (of B. Ghifār) and al-Juḥfah which are said to have been cultivated, populated and provided with springs by 'Alī, al-Zuhri, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan and Ibn 'Āmir respectively. What the latter did, apparently, was merely to restore the previous prosperity of these settlements. It is probable that stories of their ancient wealth were still vivid in the memory of their inhabitants after they had long ceased to flourish. Besides, the advice of the engineers was sought with respect to irrigation, especially along the pilgrim routes.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Wakī', *Manāzil*, fol. 13.

## V— THE DEPENDENCIES OF MEDINA AND MECCA

To denote the dependencies of Medina, Ibn Khurradadhbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Qudāmah and al-Bakrī use the word عرض *‘ird*. To denote those of Mecca, they apply the term مخالف *mikhlāf*. *‘ird* and *Mikhlāf* convey the same meaning, i.e. «dependency» or «district», but the distinction made by the Arab geographers is dialectal, since *‘ird* is used in connection with the Northern Hijaz, whereas *mikhlāf* is applied to Mecca and the Yemen apparently because of closer proximity of the Yemen to Mecca. Al-Hamdānī uses a third term, حوز *ḥauz*, to denote the dependencies of Mecca, but applies none of the three to those of Medina. Nor indeed does he attempt to give any details of these dependencies. He speaks of the lands of Yathrib (Medina) and its properties <sup>1</sup> without considering the usual list of its dependencies. Both Ibn Khurradadhbeh and al-Ya‘qūbī list the dependencies of Mecca in detail, but later describe some of them as dependencies of the Yemen.<sup>2</sup> Referring to the dependencies of the Yemen, al-Ya‘qūbī uses the term *mikhlāf*, but عمل *‘amal* for those of Mecca. Contrary to Ibn al-Faḡīh who speaks of the *‘amals* of Medina, but not those of Mecca, al-Ya‘qūbī does not mention the dependencies of Medina. Al-Muqaddasī’s terminology differs from that of all his

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, pp. 120, 124.

2. See al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 120, 124; Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 139.

predecessors. He regards the Hijaz as one of the four provinces *كورة* (*kūrah*) of Arabia, but when he attempts to divide the Hijaz into regions *ناحية* (*nāhiyah*) he mentions Qurḥ only. Later he adds Yathrib (Medina) which he describes as a region, though he describes both Qurḥ and Yathrib, in another passage, as mere towns of Mecca.<sup>1</sup> He regards the dependencies of Mecca, Medina and Qurḥ as towns which he classifies as large and small. Al-Idrīsī, on the other hand, uses one term, *mikhhlāf*, to denote the dependencies of both Mecca and Medina.<sup>2</sup> Naṣr refers to some dependencies of Medina as *ʿIrḍ*s and to those of Mecca as *mikhhlāfs*.<sup>3</sup>

What the Arab geographers, apart from al-Muqaddasī, seem to have in mind when they speak of dependencies, are the regions which used to have *minbars* or governors of their own. If their appointment was made by the governor of Medina, then they were considered part of the Medina administration; if their governors were appointed by the *amīr* of Mecca, then they were regarded as dependencies of Mecca. This is not always clear, not only because these dependencies were sometimes brought in connection with Mecca and sometimes with Medina, but also because Mecca and Medina often had the same governor. Similarly, some of the Medina dependencies had governors who were subordinated to the Egyptian administration such as Madyan, *ʿAinūnah* and al-Ḥaurā' in the 9th and 10th centuries.<sup>4</sup>

1. See al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 71, 80.

2. Al-Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, fol. 37.

3. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fols. 30, 45.

4. See Al-Kindī, *Akhhbār al-Wulāh*, pp. 143, 269, 412; and Ibn Hauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 53.



Obviously, this was a definition handed down from the early days of Islam when Mecca was ruled by a governor of its own, while Medina was directly subject to the head of the state himself.

It is noteworthy that al-Ya'qūbi is the only «official» geographer to mention any locality north of Mecca when listing its dependencies such as al-Juḥfah and 'Uṣfān. Ibn Khurradadbeh<sup>1</sup> and Qudāmah list<sup>2</sup> Sāyah and Ruhāṭ among the dependencies of Medina, though they lie nearer to Mecca than al-Juḥfah. Ibn Rosteh<sup>3</sup> also mentions Sāyah as a dependency of Medina. 'Arrām,<sup>4</sup> followed by al-Bakrī,<sup>5</sup> even includes 'Uṣfān among the *minbars* (dependencies) of Medina. Al-Hamdānī, however, regards the localities north of Mecca as far as al-Juḥfah as dependencies of Mecca. It should be noted that, at one time or another, these dependencies were assigned to one or the other of the two cities. Thus it would be unjust to accuse those authors of error, even though it can hardly be assumed that this happened in the life-time of all of them. It is clear that most of them used earlier sources, or may have been misled by the mention of the governor of Mecca or Medina in connection with the administration of these dependencies, especially as both offices were often conferred on one person. The mention of many of these dependencies is traceable to al-Aḥwal who no doubt relies on Ibn al-Kalbi. It is unlikely that he mentioned all the dependencies of Medina which are mentioned by his successors, since al-Bakrī's

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1. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

2. Qudāmah, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

3. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

4. 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

5. Al-Bakrī, *Murjān*, p. 1201.

quotation from al-Aḥwal speaks of examples only.<sup>1</sup> As to those of Mecca, he describes them in detail,<sup>2</sup> though his list is not exhaustive so that his successors add a few more localities. It is most likely that they also utilise official archives for their information on dependencies unknown to ordinary scholars, such as Qurā 'Arabīyyah, which may have been the responsibility of the revenue departments. Had Ibn al-Kalbī included the name of this dependency in his list, al-Bakrī would have known that it did not denote «all villages in the Arab lands». <sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī states that al-Fur', a dependency of Medina, had twelve *minbars* or dependencies of its own.<sup>4</sup> This can only mean that, at one time, the governor of al-Fur' was so influential and powerful as to gather in his hands the administration of a large area stretching from 'Uṣfān in the south to al-Sayālah in the north. This must have occurred — if it ever did — in the 10th and 11th centuries, when the Northern Hijaz suffered desperately from the despotism of tribal chiefs. The dependencies of Najd are listed in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*.<sup>5</sup> Since these dependencies are those of Mecca, and listed by him as such in another passage,<sup>6</sup> it is obvious that he errs here. They should be listed as «the dependencies of Mecca in Najd», a definition by which they were known at that time. He seems to have relied on al-Hamdānī whose concept of Najd is, however, different from that of al-Bakrī.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1201.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1121.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

7. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, pp. 117, 119.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

As to the eastern Medinense dependencies, they used to stretch as far as al-Ṭiff in Iraq until the reign of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>1</sup> By the time of Waki', no Najdī locality was regarded as a dependency of Medina. There is no doubt that his list of the Medinese dependencies is accurate, since he relies on a native scholar, Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ. In this list, the descriptions of some of these dependencies, termed *minbars*, contain details of their administration, agriculture, springs and even the genealogy of their inhabitants. 'Uṣfān is mentioned as having been a dependency of Medina before it became a Meccan *minbar*.<sup>2</sup> Waki' is more accurate than his contemporary, al-Fākihī, who seems to rely on ancient sources when he describes the Janābidh of Ibn Ṣaifī, halfway between Mecca and 'Uṣfān as the northernmost Meccan territory.<sup>3</sup> Waki's list is superior to those of the officials, because it contains none of the classical names which, though mentioned by Ibn Khurradadhbeh and his successors, had ceased to correspond to the actually known dependencies such as those listed by Waki'.

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1. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 540.

2. Waki', *Manāzil*, fols. 39-40.

3. Al-Fākihī, *Tārīkh*, p. 50.

## VI—QUOTATIONS, MISREADINGS, BORROWINGS AND DISPUTED WORKS

One cannot expect the Arab geographers of the period under consideration, or indeed any authors of that period outside the circle of the *Muḥaddithūn* to conform to present-day standards of research. Their way of imparting information does not always disclose whether it is their own or has been borrowed from other authors. Thus unless the source is explicitly mentioned, or the said piece of information traceable to an available work, its origin and sometimes its real significance are impossible to ascertain. Ibn Khurradadhbeh utilized official archives and the reports of the caliph's envoys. He was also conversant with the *ḥadīth*. Nevertheless, he seldom names his sources. Al-Ya'qūbī no doubt used the libraries of the Ṭulūnids of Egypt and the Ṭāhirids of Naisābūr, with both of whom he maintained friendly relations. It is probable that he read 'Arrām's book which was available in the Ṭāhirid library, since his information about the tribes inhabiting the stretch of territory between Medina and Mecca is similar to that of 'Arrām. Al-Mas'ūdī relied on al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd with respect to localities in the Northern Hijaz, whereas Ibn al-Faḡīh seems to have depended on al-Jāḥiẓ.

Except when it is a question of personal experience, Waki' is both consistent and conscientious in naming the sources

of almost any statement in his *Manāzil*. It is to his credit that he has preserved the names of a number of yet untraced sources, such as Nādir on the mosques of the Prophet; Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ on the dependencies of Medina; Abū Ishāq al-Bakrī on the Najdī route between Medina and Mecca; and al-Ḥasanī on the Khaibar region.

Al-Hamdānī is superior to all other geographers except Waki' in that he often names his sources. He does not limit himself to contemporary transmitters such as al-Khuẓa'ī, al-Jarmī, al-ʿĀdī and his own father, but also consults two Iraqi and six Yemenite astronomers, comparing their estimates with those of Ptolemy. He also quotes Hermes, Dioscorides and such Indian and Chinese works as were known to his contemporaries. Al-Hamdānī is unique in vocalizing the names of localities quoted from Roman sources in as faithful a transliteration as the difference between Latin and Arabic script allows, and gives their equivalent in Arabic if he knows them. His version of Ptolemy's name is surprisingly accurate. Very interesting is his attempt to explain the Greek reference to spices which abound in «Najd and the Hijaz and its Tihāmahs». Al-Hamdānī translates «spices» as افاريه *afāwīh* (spices or aromatic plants), but explains their nature by reference to «scented plants of the desert such as *uqḥuẓwān*, *khuzāmā* and the like». This is a strong indication that, by the time of al-Hamdānī, the ancient Yemenite trade in spices had fallen into oblivion. Al-Hamdānī also translates «Arabia Felix» by «fertile land of the Beduin: Najd and the Hijaz». <sup>1</sup> Al-Bakrī's translation is more accurate, since he renders the epithet as al-ʿArabiyyah al-Saʿīdah, applying it, however, to Arabia as a whole.<sup>2</sup>

1. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 37.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 23.

Ibn Ḥauqal claims to have read the geographical works of al-Jaihānī, Ibn Khurradadbeh, al-Jāḥiẓ, Qudāmah and Ibn al-Kalbī. Though he does not hesitate to admit that the work of al-Jāḥiẓ is «valuable» and that of Qudāmah «impeccable», he states in no equivocal way that he never borrows from them under any circumstances, as he disdains the prestige to be gained by appropriating other people's work. Apart from some references to matters of common knowledge in his book, and the mention of the «sweet smells» of Medina, and Ibn Judʿān's guest-house at Mecca, which are traceable to al-Jāḥiẓ, and the demarcation of the Hijaz which goes back to Ibn al-Kalbī, there is little reason to question the sincerity of Ibn Ḥauqal's bold statement as far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned. As to his liberal adoption of al-Iṣṭakhri's work which he neither tries to conceal nor apologises for, he may have considered himself entitled to it since he regards it, for the most part, as his own, with al-Iṣṭakhri's contribution amounting to no more than four maps, two of which are hopelessly wrong.<sup>1</sup> But his claim to the sole authorship of al-Iṣṭakhri's commentary cannot be fully accepted as far as the Northern Hijaz is concerned, because of the presence of unmistakeable signs of al-Iṣṭakhri's hand such as the reference to the Ḥasanī and the Jaʿfari tribes who had been subordinated to B. Ḥarb before Ibn Ḥauqal started on his travels. Besides, Ibn Ḥauqal himself quotes al-Iṣṭakhri on Raḍwā, al-Ḥijr and Madyan. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥauqal is definitely the main contributor of information about Arabia. As to Abū Zaid to whom Yāqūt attributes most of the information contained in the work of Ibn Ḥauqal (and al-Iṣṭakhri), he is unlikely to have been a co-author of this work. Indeed, not even

1. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331.

the copy utilized by Yāqūt was that of al-Iṣṭakhri, but that of Ibn Ḥauqal, since the quotation contains the same slight variations which appear in Ibn Ḥauqal's copy, such as unmistakable stylistic and linguistic differences.

Al-Muqaddasī also consults the geographical works of his predecessors, including Ibn Ḥauqal's, though he attributes the latter to al-Iṣṭakhri and two other authors, Ibn al-Marzubān of Karkh and Abū Zaid. This is probably a deliberate attempt to deny the actual authorship of Ibn Ḥauqal, which is in line with the political position of Ibn Ḥauqal, if one considers that al-Muqaddasī wrote his book in Egypt, in 375 A.H. (985), immediately after Ibn Ḥauqal's denunciation of its rulers, the Fatimids. It is probable that it was this allegation of al-Muqaddasī that prompted Ibn Ḥauqal to explain the nature of his relationship with al-Iṣṭakhri. As to Ibn al-Marzubān, Ibn Ḥauqal is full of praise for him and his family, which suggests that a copy of Ibn Ḥauqal's work was presented to this influential secretary by Ibn Ḥauqal himself, a presentation which may have led to al-Muqaddasī's false accusation. The alleged authorship of Abū Zaid is mentioned for the first time by al-Muqaddasī and seems to be the basis for Yāqūt's acceptance of Abū Zaid's authority on the Northern Hijaz. The extent of al-Muqaddasī's influence on Yāqūt can be realized from the fact that he pretends to have read the work of al-Jaihānī,<sup>1</sup> when in fact his only quotation of al-Jaihānī is to be found in al-Muqaddasī's work.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that Yāqūt does not mention Ibn Ḥauqal when he refers to the authorship of the work in question as being disputed between Abū

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 3, p. 394.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

Zaid and al-Iṣṭakhri,<sup>1</sup> a statement which is in line with al-Muqaddasī's claim. Its trustworthiness, however, can be judged by the fact that Yāqūt himself attributes the same work to Ibn Ḥauqal on numerous occasions.

Al-Muqaddasī's information about the Northern Hijaz is derived from personal observation and theological literature, though his description of Jiddah bears some similarity to that given by Ibn Ḥauqal. He also depends on the author of the history of Medina. Al-Muqaddasī criticises an alleged statement of Ibn Khurradadbeh in which the latter assesses the *kharāj* (land tax) of the Yemen at 600,000 *dīnārs*, though the term *kharāj* does not apply to Arabia whose tax is defined as *irtifā*, (revenue).<sup>2</sup> To do justice to Ibn Khurradadbeh, he does not use the term *kharāj*, merely states that the archives of the «Kharāj Department» in Baghdad show that the «revenue» of the Yemen once reached the peak of 600,000 *dīnārs*, which means that both kinds of tax, «land tax» as well as «revenue», were collected under the supervision of the Kharāj Department. Al-Muqaddasī's estimate of the distance between Jiddah and the town of al-Qulzum by sea at 300 parasangs is untraceable to other sources. Similarly, his claim that it takes between twenty-five and sixty days to cross this distance is made in defiance of Ibn Rosteh's assessment of twenty-four hours. Though both assumptions are incorrect, the former is far more so.

Al-Muhallabī's information about the region preserved by Yāqūt and Abū al-Fidā' is not exhaustive, apparently

1. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 2, p. 122.

2. Al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

3. Ibn Khurradadbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 144.



because Yāqūt gives, with respect to the Northern Hijaz, preference to Abū Zaid's (Ibn Ḥauqal's) work who has first-hand knowledge of it. Abū al-Fidā' also prefers Ibn Ḥauqal's information to that found in other geographies. To judge by the information he himself proffers, al-Muhallabī seems to have relied, among others, on al-Ya'qūbī and Ibn Rosteh. Al-Muhallabī's original information, though scant, is of the greatest value, since it indicates the existence of new sources for writing about the Northern Hijaz. He gives the distances there in miles, and brings the data on the tribes in that area up to date. He also seems to be interested in revenue. Not only does he point out the climate in which a locality is situated, but also its latitude, a distinct improvement on previous authors on the Northern Hijaz. This is likely to be the result of a new survey.

Al-Bakrī's sources on the Northern Hijaz differ from work to work. Whereas he quotes Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Qutaibah, Ibn Rosteh, al-Mas'ūdī and, most important, al-'Udhri in *al-Masālik*, he relies on al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Uбайдah, Ibn al-Kalbī, 'Arrām, al-Sukkari, and, also most important, al-Sakūnī. There is no doubt that he also utilizes wakī's work, especially on the pilgrim routes and the mosques of the Prophet in the Northern Hijaz. As to al-Hajari's *Nawādir*, it is likely that its complete text was unknown to al-Bakrī, not only because al-Hajari is so rarely mentioned in *al-Mu'jam* but also because there are few similarities between al-Hajari's and al-Bakrī's geographical statements. It is most probable that al-Bakrī quotes al-Hajari through Qāsim b. Thābit or the latter's father, as both were disciples of al-Hajari, and often quoted by al-Bakrī. Naṣr relies on many authors, mostly of a literary

nature. His chief sources on the Northern Hijaz are al-Sukkari, 'Arrām and al-Bakrī, though he never mentions the names of the last two. He quotes al-'Udhri, but through Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>1</sup> Al-Zamakhshari quotes 'Ulayy as the authority for the most original passage of his *jibāl*. Al-Idrīsī's description of the Northern Hijaz is mainly derived from Ibn Khurradadbeh, Ibn Rosteh, Ibn Ḥauqal and al-Bakrī. Nevertheless, there are several occasions on which he proffers new information whose source is untraceable.

As regards numerous misquotations and misreadings it is obvious that they are, to a great extent, attributable not so much to the authors themselves as to the scribes who were by no means always well-informed on the Northern Hijaz. When a mistake is committed in a highly respected work, either by the author or by a scribe, the chances are that it will survive unnoticed. A clear example of this is the alleged existence of كُتُبٌ كَثِيرَةٌ *kuthubun kathīrah* (several mounds) on the trunk on the famous tree at the mosque of the Prophet near al-Ruwaithah which figures in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It is of course a question of كُتُبٌ كَثِيرَةٌ *kutubun kathīrah* (several inscriptions) though all transmitters and commentators of al-Bukhārī as well as authors quoting from him — not excepting al-Bakrī — appear to be convinced that it is a matter of mounds.<sup>2</sup> Another example is the erroneous assumption of both al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaidah that the proper name of the halt between al-Ghamrah and Mecca is not the Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir, but

1. Naṣr, *Jibāl*, fol. 130.

2. See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, p. 134; Al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-Sāri*, vol. 1, p. 533; Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 686; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, vol. 1, p. 451.

the Bustān of Ibn Maʿmar. Al-Bakrī does not seem to be aware of the contradictions between certain statements in his *Muʿjam* with regard to several localities in the Northern Hijaz such as Kulayyah, Raḍwā, ʿAzwar, al-Ṣafrāʾ, al-Juḥfah, al-Mushallal and Qudaid. On some occasions, he admits his inability to choose between conflicting statements, e.g. commenting on al-Qāḥah and al-Suqyā. <sup>1</sup> He is, nevertheless, the first geographer to subject many statements to a thorough vetting. The defects, and they are many, in his own pronouncements, are the consequence of the large size of his *Muʿjam* and the magnitude of his task, for he attempts to locate a vast number of places. As is evident from the differences between the MSS, his *Muʿjam* teems with scribal mistakes.

Al-Bakrī's quotations are not always exactly as they appear in their original sources, e.g. some of his quotations from al-Bukhārī, ʿArrām and al-Sakūnī. <sup>2</sup> Though it is al-Bakrī's prime objective in compiling his *Muʿjam* to forestall the misreading of place-names, it happens that he himself commits mistakes of this kind. The most striking example is his confusing Jumrān in Najd, with Jumḍān in the Hijaz, <sup>3</sup> although the very misreading of Jumḍān itself by Yazīd b. Hārūn is an example of mistakes he himself indicts in the very first pages of his *Muʿjam*. <sup>4</sup> He corrects Dharah to Dharwah, but misreads al-Shanāʾik as al-Sanābik, al-Nijār and al-Nujair as al-Thijār and al-Thujair, and Ghurān as Ghurāb, to mention only a few alterations in

1. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 1266.

2. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 356, 686, 811; and compare with al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 134; and ʿArrām *op. cit.*, pp. 399, 410.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, p. 391.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

statements he attributes to 'Arrām. A very shocking misquotation of 'Arrām is al-Bakrī's location of Mt. Wariqān as the first mountain encountered by travellers from «Mecca to Medina». Al-Bakrī's rearrangement of directions in this statement indicates his awareness of the alteration he has made, but this rearrangement increases the disorder. In this corrupted form, the statement has found its way into Naṣr's *ḡibāl*. The same is true of Dharwah,<sup>1</sup> but not al-Nijār and al-Nujair<sup>2</sup> which means that Naṣr consulted the works of both 'Arrām and al-Bakrī. Naṣr also misreads Marjih as Mudajjaj,<sup>3</sup> though on the whole, his misreadings are rare indeed. Al-Zamakhsharī seems to alter Sāyah into Sayy'ah, and fails to distinguish between the two Nakhlahs.<sup>4</sup> Al-Hamdānī alters Ḥasīn into Ḥunain.<sup>5</sup> His confusing demarcation of Wādī al-Qurā and its surroundings<sup>6</sup> is most likely to be caused by a scribal omission.

Al-Idrīsī's text abounds in misreadings of place-names in the Northern Hijaz some of which are scribal mistakes. Nevertheless, numerous mistakes suggest the direct responsibility of al-Idrīsī himself. Most important among them is his failure to distinguish al-Rauḥā', the inland town on the route from Medina to al-Jār, from al-Ḥaurā', the port between al-Wajh and al-Jār which prompted him to assume that al-Ṣafrā' and al-'Udhaibah, which lie between al-Rauḥā' and al-Jār, must also be ports, which is of course erroneous.

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1. Naṣr, *op. cit.*, fols. 150, 71.

2. *Ibid.*, fpl. 144.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 137. Naṣr records the erroneous assumption that the Prophet obviated this valley when he emigrated from Mecca.

4. Al-Zamakhsharī, *ḡibāl*, pp. 83, 154, 13.

5. *Supra*, p. 212.

6. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, p. 131.

It is perhaps this reading of al-Rauḥā' as al-Ḥaurā' that accounts for the mention, for the first time, of an alleged port called العطف al-'Uṭūf to the north of al-Ḥaurā'. There is a halt called al-Munṣaraf المنصرف in the proximity of al-Rauḥā' which he might have misread as al-'Uṭūf. There is also his misinterpretation of the sentence : ثم اجاز القاحه : *thumma ajāza al-Qāḥah* (thence he crossed al-Qāḥah) from which he concludes that there are two halts: Adhān and al-Qāḥah or al-'Azjah. Similarly, he splits the name ثنية المرة *Thaniyyah al-Marāh* into two place-names: Thaniyyah and al-Marāh,<sup>1</sup> thus erroneously assuming the existence of two places. In the other MS. al-Idrīsī seems to have corrected the erroneous location of Waddān east of the lands of the Ḥasanīs by Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>2</sup> Al-Idrīsī, however, deliberately alters Ibn Ḥauqal's sentence about Raḍwā رأيت من ينبع كخضرة البقل (I saw it from Yanbu' looking like a green meadow) into : ورأسه من ينابيع الماء كخضرة البقل (the fords have rendered its summit like a green meadow).<sup>3</sup> He also tries to reconcile two contradictory statements about whetstone. Ibn Ḥauqal says that it is carried from Raḍwā, whereas al-Bakrī believes that it is found near Khaibar. In a compromise solution, al-Idrīsī locates Khaibar near Raḍwā, and finds hence no difficulty in assuming that whetstone is carried from both. It is perhaps this, or some inaccurate maps, that prompted a later geographer to locate Yanbu', the port, on the route between Khaibar and Medina.<sup>4</sup> Other misreadings of al-Idrīsī have already been listed.<sup>5</sup>

'Arrām's erroneous locations are not only surprisingly

1. *Supra*, p. 360.

2. *Supra*, p. 292.

3. *Supra*, p. 311.

4. *Supra*, p. 118.

5. *Supra*, p. 359.

numerous, but also unchallenged by other authors. He locates 'Azwar close to Raḍwā, Kulayyah south of al-Juḥfah, Turabah west of Mt. al-Sarāh, Mt. Qua'iqi'ān as a village twelve miles from Mecca, the two Mts. Thāfil at two days distance from Raḍwā in one passage and seven days distance in another, and al-Ṣafrā' east of Raḍwā. Since 'Arrām is a native of the Northern Hijaz, these mistaken locations are likely to be the result of erroneous pagination of the original MS., as has already been discussed.

In his *Masālik*, al-Bakrī lists the mosques of the Prophet between Mecca and Medina, but in an extremely corrupted form such as المقوس al-Muqawwas (al-Mu'rras), and عرق الطيب 'Irq al-Ṭīb ('Irq al-Zabyah), المخضوب al-Makhḍūb (al-Munṣaraf), الانابة al-Inābah (al-Ithāyah) <sup>المشكل</sup> al-Mushkil (al-Mushallal), عين ابي ربيع 'Ain Abū Rabi', ('Ain Ibn Bazī') and ثلثة كعب Thulthat Ka'b (Thaniyyat Kuft).<sup>1</sup> Many other localities in the Northern Hijaz are treated in the same manner in *al-Masālik*. While it is possible to blame a scribe for most of these corruptions, there is no doubt that al-Bakrī follows al-Muqaddasī in altering سقيا الجزل Suqyā al-Jazl into يزيد سقيا Suqyā Yazīd. Al-Samhūdī attributes to al-Suhailī the location of a mosque of the Prophet bi-Ba'lā ببال (at Ba'lā).<sup>2</sup> What al-Suhailī says in reality is merely that such a mosque is situated bi-Alā' (at-Alā').<sup>3</sup> The latter from figures in al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam*,<sup>4</sup> and is no doubt the accurate name.

Not all mistakes and erroneous assumptions recur in the

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fols, 74-75.

2. Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, p. 1029.

3. Al-Suhailī, *Rauḍ*, vol. 2, p. 322.

4. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, p. 1223.

work of compilers. Such was the fate of Lughdah's mention of a silver mine in Mt. Shaibān, near Wādī al-Qurā, which does not seem to have been accurate. Ibn Rosteh states that rice is reaped three or even four times a year in the Yemen.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the impossibility of three annual harvests of rice, it was not until five centuries later that rice was introduced to the Yemen and only as an experiment.<sup>2</sup> Prof. Serjeant believes that the word ارز *aruzz* = rice here is a misreading of ذرة *dhurah* = maize,<sup>3</sup> which is very likely. This statement of Ibn Rosteh is not repeated by the compilers; nor is that of al-Idrīsī on the existence of the alleged port of al-'Uṭūf north of al-Ḥaurā'. Neither is al-Bakrī's erroneous assumption that al-Suwaidā' is the border of the Hijaz repeated by any of his successors.<sup>4</sup>

An error or misquotation leads sometimes to far wilder errors not only by successive authors, but even by the author who gives rise to the misquotation. Al-Bakrī's misquotation of 'Arrām's statement on Mt. Wariqān and the consequent re-arrangement of localities following it is an example. Another is al-Idrīsī's compromise solution in locating Khaibar near Raḍwā, and his failure to distinguish between al-Ḥaurā' and al-Rauḥā', which have already been mentioned. An even more erroneous assumption springs from Ibn Faḍālah's reference to حد الحجاز الأول (the first frontier of the Hijaz) which has been interpreted, possibly by 'Iyāḍ, as being «the frontier of the first Hijaz». The author of *Ākāṁ al-Murjān* describes the «first Hijaz» as comprising «al-Qairawān, Egypt and Ailah», which is a

1. Ibn Rosteh, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

2. Al-Ghassānī, *Bughyah*, fol. 32.

3. Private communication.

4. *Supra*, p. 19.

misinterpretation of اسفل الارض *asfal al-Arḍ* (the lower Province of Egypt) changed by al-Idrīsī to *asfal arḍ al-Ḥijāz* (the lower territories of the Hijaz). It is certain that this conception cannot be earlier than the 12th century, which means that the author of *Ākām al-Murjān* must have lived no earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Some place names are misread as a result of philological errors. Thus the definition of Shaghḥb, Ri'm and Ṭās (Ḍās) as Shaghḥbā, Ri'mā and Ṭāsā respectively is due to an alteration of Shaghḥban, Ri'man and Ṭāsan, which is the accurate reading if accompanied by فتحة تنوين *fathah nunation*.

In many cases an author, after releasing the first version of his work, became aware of some errors he had committed or reiterated. It is natural that he should have corrected these errors in the later versions. This is a great help in the study of the provenance and history of the manuscripts of these works. Thus the manuscript of al-Idrīsī's *Nuzḥah*, in which he corrects Ibn Ḥauqal's erroneous location of the Ḥasanī lands, is a later version. Similarly, al-Bakrī's distinction between al-Naqī' and al-Baqī' cannot have occurred in his earliest versions, on one of which 'Iyād has relied, but in the later which al-Suhailī has utilized.<sup>2</sup>

Some authors borrow an entire statement which betrays their reliance on certain sources, such as al-Bakrī's reference to an ancient place at Medina being «identical with the palace

1. *Supra*, p. 25; and see Krachkovskī, *Tārīkh al-Adab*, vol. 1, p. 229.

2. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 809; 'Iyād, *Mashāriq*, vol. 1, p. 99; and al-Suhailī, *Raud*, vol. 1, p. 270.



of B. Ḥudailah today», the mention of the descendants of Sabrah b. Maʿbad as inhabiting Dhul Marwah «until the present day»; several references to the year A.H. 332 (943-4), altered once to A.H. 432, as «our present day». <sup>1</sup> These are verbatim quotations from Ibn Ishāq of the 8th century, Ibn Saʿd of the 9th century and al-Masʿūdi of the 10th century respectively. Al-Bakrī's comparison of the size of the Thamūdite dwellings with «our own houses» is also traceable in al-Masʿūdi's *murūj*. The geographical reference to the Northern Hijaz provided by ʿIyād and al-Suhaili are mostly traceable in al-Bakrī's *Muʿjam*, though the MSS. on which they rely are definitely not identical.

There are many authors whose information has been borrowed, in its entirety, by other writers who can be classified merely as transmitters. Such connections are, on some occasions, easy to verify, as, for instance, in the case of al-Kindī who, though quoted on the Northern Hijaz by both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt, is no more than a transmitter of ʿArrām. It is also easy to establish that al-Aḥwal is a transmitter of Ibn al-Kalbī, since the quotations attributed by al-Bakrī to al-Aḥwal are, when mentioned by Yāqūt, attributed to Ibn al-Kalbī. In other cases, the connection is not so easily determined. It has already been mentioned that the information on the Northern Hijaz which Yāqūt attributes to Abū Zaid is, in fact, taken from Ibn Ḥauqal's own draft. However, he attributes the quotation on al-Ḥijr, not to Abū Zaid, but to al-Iṣṭakhri. <sup>2</sup> Several quotations are given without a source being named. It is most likely that Ibn Ḥauqal is the main author of that work. What is

1. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, fol. 39.

2. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. 2, p. 208.

difficult is to ascertain how much was contributed to it by al-Iṣṭakhri, since Ibn Ḥauqal had ascribed his own findings to al-Iṣṭakhri before deciding to adopt the whole work.<sup>1</sup> The available Ms. of Naṣr's *ḡibāl* is clearly the abridgement made by Abū Mūsā al-Iṣfahānī, because only the information that Yāqūt attributes to Naṣr is to be found in this MS. Yāqūt states unequivocally that it is through this abridgement that his knowledge of Naṣr's *ḡibāl* has come to him.<sup>2</sup> There is a possibility that Naṣr is not, in fact, responsible for this work at all, and that it was ascribed to him in order to throw doubt on al-Ḥāzimi's *Amkinah* which, apart from some alterations, might well have been the origin of this abridgement. Yāqūt accepts this claim with the same sincerity with which he accepts the authorship of Abū Zaid in reliance on al-Muqaddasi.

It may not be amiss to draw attention to the recent controversy over the identity of the author of *Manāzil Ṭariq Makkah* (the halts on the route to Mecca). Since the introduction as well as some folios are missing so that the name of the author does not appear in the MS., different scholars have tried to ascribe it to different authors. It was thought to have been a copy of *Akhbār Makkah* of al-Azraqī, but Dr Ḥ. Maḥfūz, who familiarized the Arab scholars with this MS., attributes it to Ibn al-Kūfi al-Asadī 254-348 A.H. (868-959). Dr Maḥfūz seems to have relied on Shaikh Aghā Buzurg who recalled having read such a work by Ibn al-Kūfi. Other scholars, however, see in this MS. the work of al-Asadī to whom al-Samhūdī attributes a number of statements found in it. Shaikh Ḥamad al-Jāsir rightly

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1. Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

2. Yāqūt, *Muḡjam*, vol. 1, p. 8.

disagrees with either side, but insists on attributing it to al-Ḥarbī 199-285 A.H. (813-898).<sup>1</sup> In so doing, he relies first on the report attributed to ‘Abd Allāh b. Shabīb by the author of this MS.<sup>2</sup> and, according to al-Bakrī, by al-Ḥarbī.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, he is led by the lengthy chapter on the pilgrimage rites to identify its author with al-Ḥarbī who is said to have compiled a book on these rites. Shaikh Ḥamd lists the names of thirty scholars quoted in this MS. all of whom are contemporaries of al-Ḥarbī, to suggest that they were his teachers.

The attribution of this work to al-Ḥarbī cannot be accepted for the following reasons:

1. al-Ḥarbī himself is one of the scholars on whom the author relies, though his name does not figure in Shaikh Ḥamad’s list;<sup>4</sup>
2. Ibn Shabīb’s report as recorded by the author differs in places from Ibn Shabīb’s report as transmitted by al-Ḥarbī;
3. the author states unequivocally that he does not intend to write more on the pilgrimage rites than necessary, and declares emphatically that these rites are not what his book is about;<sup>5</sup>
4. some reporters on whom the author relies are younger

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1. See *al-‘Arab*, vol. 3, part 3, pp. 193-198.

2. Fol. 72.

3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, pp. 6, 7.

4. Fol. 62.

5. Fol. 46.

than al-Ḥarbī and some of them lived years after him,<sup>1</sup> facts which do not tally with the theory that he was their disciple; and

5. some of the scholars whom the author quotes are not regarded as trustworthy enough to have been quoted by an authority so highly respected as *al-imām* al-Ḥarbī. Indeed, one of them is so notorious for his untrustworthiness that he was deemed by a trustworthy scholar to deserve capital punishment.<sup>2</sup>

As to the identity of the real author, it is certain that he is no other than Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān (or Jiyyān), best known as al-Qāḍī Waki', who died in 306 A.H. (918). Waki' showed great interest in the routes and travels, and compiled two works of this kind, one of which is *Kitāb al-Musāfir* (the book of traveller), and the other *Kitāb al-Ṭarīq* (the book of the route).<sup>3</sup> The latter is almost certainly the one whose MS. is the subject of this controversy. That Waki' is the author of this work is borne out by a juxtaposition of this MS. with Waki's other work *Akhbār al-Qudāh*. The method of reporting used in both works is the same, and even the introductory formulae of the author's reports are identical, e.g. حدثنا *ḥaddathani*, حدثني *ḥaddathanā*, اخبرنا *akhbaranā* and اخبرني *akhbaranī*, زعم *za'am*. Moreover, most of the author's teachers quoted in *al-Manāzil* MS. are quoted by Waki' in *Akhbār*

1. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Sā'igh died 11 years after al-Ḥarbī, see al-Khatīb, *Tārikh*, vol. 3, p. 318.

2. See al-Khatīb, *Tārikh*, vol. 9, p. 475; Ibn Abū Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ*, vol. 3, p. 412.

3. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 114.

*al-Qudāh*, and in reports attributed to him by Abū al-Faraj, al-Khatīb and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>1</sup> The few names of authorities — 9 out of 76 — which do not appear in *Akhbār al-Qudāh* are either detected there with additives, or in shortened or corrupted forms, or are entirely redundant as they are quoted in the MS. when information on localities or «geographical» poetry is provided, information which differs, by the nature of its subject matter, from the theme of *Akhbār al-Qudāh*. Waki<sup>c</sup> is known to have relied, beside highly respected authors such as al-Ḥarbī, on some transmitters whose standards fall below the requirements of the strict *‘Ulamā*. As to al-Bakrī’s assumption that al-Ḥarbī quotes ‘Abd Allāh b. Shabīb on the account which Waki<sup>c</sup> also attributes to Ibn Shabīb, al-Bakrī might have been misled by the chapter on the pilgrimage rites on which al-Ḥarbī compiled a book. It is possible, however, that al-Ḥarbī has recorded this report in his work *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* which al-Bakrī quotes on many occasions.<sup>2</sup> Waki<sup>c</sup>’s *Manāzil* appears to have been enlarged by both al-Asadī and al-Sakūnī.

Al-Sakūnī has been the subject of three assumptions. The first is based on al-Bakrī’s remark that virtually all the information he derived from al-Sakūnī was drawn by the latter from the book of ‘Arrām on the Hijaz and Tihāmah which he dictated to al-Kindī.<sup>3</sup> Since a substantial part of this information is not to be found in ‘Arrām’s work,

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1. See Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 95-96, and the chains of reporters in *al-Aghānī* and *Tārīkh Baghdād*.
  2. See *al-‘Arab*, vol. 3, part 4, p. 290; and al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, pp. 558, 882, 1205.
  3. Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 5.

some scholars, notably Professor Hārūn,<sup>1</sup> believe that al-Sakūnī enriched this work with information of his own. There is, however, no doubt that the MS. of 'Arrām's work which al-Bakrī utilized is identical with the available MS. Almost all the information as well as all the mistakes and defective passages in this MS. reappear in the quotations attributed by al-Bakrī to al-Sakūnī, al-Kindī or 'Arrām. Moreover, the majority of al-Sakūnī's statements describe localities outside the scope of 'Arrām's work, such as Taimā', Khaibar, Faïd, al-Yamāmah and Fadak and even localities in Syria and Iraq. There are, in al-*Mu'jam*, some quotations concerning localities covered by 'Arrām's work, which al-Bakrī attributes to al-Sakūnī, but which do not figure in 'Arrām's work. On many of these particular occasions, al-Bakrī plainly states that al-Sakūnī's information is derived from «his own sources», «from the Arabs», from Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Zurqī or Mūsā b. Ishāq.<sup>2</sup> Because al-Bakrī regards both Faïd and Khaibar as part of the Hijaz, he takes the precaution of mentioning al-Sakūnī's «book»<sup>3</sup> in connection with both localities, to prevent the information he attributes to al-Sakūnī from being ascribed to 'Arrām. This book of al-Sakūnī is clearly an independent work, compiled by al-Sakūnī himself and different from that «dictated»<sup>4</sup> to him by al-Kindī, to quote the actual words of al-Bakrī, which is positive evidence that al-Sakūnī did not enlarge 'Arrām's work.

Secondly, this book of al-Sakūnī is the one utilized by Yāqūt who does not seem to have seen al-Sakūnī's version of

1. See 'Arrām, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 811, 265, 155, 274, 398, 659.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 523.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 655.

‘Arrām’s work which Yāqūt attributes only to ‘Arrām and al-Kindī. Yāqūt is so fervent in his admiration for al-Sakūnī<sup>1</sup> that he would hardly have neglected to ascribe some of these quotations to him had he been aware of his connection with ‘Arrām’s work. Yāqūt, in fact, mentions al-Kindī and al-Sakūnī as authors of two separate works.<sup>2</sup> Thus al-Sakūnī’s information on the Northern Hijaz is not part of his version of ‘Arrām’s work, but part of another work by al-Sakūnī himself. Recently, Dr Ḥusain Naṣṣar found in Yāqūt’s *Irshād* and extremely important reference to a work on Arabia by a certain Sakūnī. He believes that this may be the Sakūnī on whom Yāqūt relied for his information, and who is not identical with the transmitter of ‘Arrām’s work on the grounds that al-Bakrī’s Sakūnī is called ‘Amr b. Bishr, whereas this Sakūnī is called Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan, and that al-Bakrī’s Sakūnī lived many years before Yāqūt’s Sakūnī who was a contemporary of al-Muqtadir, 295-320 A.H. (907-932).<sup>3</sup> The reasons for this assumption are by no means cogent. That al-Sakūnī’s name differs from al-Bakrī to Yāqūt is true, but al-Bakrī and Yāqūt often give different names and cognomens to one and the same author. As to the period in which al-Bakrī’s Sakūnī and Yāqūt’s Sakūnī lived, it is almost the same, since al-Zurqī, quoted by al-Bakrī’s Sakūnī, was still alive in 309 A.H. (921),<sup>4</sup> which suggests that his disciple, al-Bakrī’s Sakūnī, could be identical with Yāqūt’s Sakūnī.

The third assumption is the charge raised against al-Sakūnī,

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1 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* ‘62 vo 4, p. 31.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 7.

3. *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmi al-ʿIrāqī*, vol. 14, p. 208.

4. See al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 274 and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vol. 4, p. 61

that he borrowed the work of al-Hajarī, to whom al-Samhūdī ascribes most of the information on the *Himas* (preserves) which al-Bakrī attributes to al-Sakūnī. Consequently, Shaikh Ḥamad al-Jāsir concludes that al-Hajarī is the original author because he is more famous and more closely connected with the Hijaz than al-Sakūnī «of whom we know nothing in this respect», and because al-Samhūdī names, not al-Sakūnī, but al-Hajarī as his source.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that al-Samhūdī attributes these quotations to al-Hajarī alone. What is not above suspicion, however, is the reliability of this attribution. Al-Hajarī was highly respected in al-Andalus, since he was the teacher of two famous Andalusian scholars, Thābit b. Ḥazm and his son Qāsim. Al-Bakrī quotes al-Hajarī on some geographical references on the Northern Hijaz which are in line with al-Hajarī's *Nawādir*.<sup>2</sup> The geographical references in *al-Nawādir* prove that al-Hajarī is, in fact, well informed on the region. Nevertheless, the information attributed by al-Bakrī to al-Sakūnī, and by al-Samhūdī to al-Hajarī, definitely differs from data found in *al-Nawādir* where there are some attempts at mapping routes in the Northern Hijaz or references to the *Himas* which cannot have been written by the same author whom al-Bakrī quotes on the routes in the Northern Hijaz, and whom both al-Bakrī and al-Samhūdī quote on the *Himas*. Since al-Hajarī himself is an original source, it cannot be assumed that the discrepancies between his own work, *al-Nawādir*, and the alleged information attributed to him by al-Samhūdī, or to Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, are the result of variations in al-Hajarī's sources. There are some occasions on which the information provided by al-Hajarī in *al-Nawādir* conflicts with data

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1. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Abū 'Alī al-Hajarī*, p. 94.

2. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 558, 1017.



attributed by al-Bakrī to al-Sukānī and by al-Samhūdī to al-Hajarī. This happens in the cases of Baidān which is described as a mountain by al-Hajarī, and as a well by al-Sukānī; of al-Munyah, which is described as a hill by al-Hajarī, but figures, in al-Sakūnī, as Minā with a very detailed demarcation; of al-ʿAqīq which is briefly described by al-Hajarī, but in full detail by al-Sakūnī; and of the Basra-Mecca route, of which al-Hajarī merely enumerates the halts,<sup>1</sup> but on which al-Sakūnī offers ample information.<sup>2</sup> It suffices to read al-Hajarī's *Nawādir* to establish that the geographical references there, original and valuable though they are, cannot have been written by the same author whose information about the Northern Hijaz is attributed to al-Sakūnī by al-Bakrī, and to al-Hajarī by al-Samhūdī.

The above-quoted instances represent cases of direct borrowing, or accusations of borrowing, by transmitters from authors, or even by authors from other authors. Apart from those, there are numerous quotations on the Northern Hijaz recorded by al-Bakrī, Naṣr and Yāqūt which are definitely traceable to certain sources, though none of them names these sources. One example will be cited here. There is first al-Sakūnī himself. Both al-Bakrī and Yāqūt quote from him in a vast number of entries, though his name is omitted from many of these entries. Fortunately, it has been possible to detect many of these quotations not only by juxtaposing the two *Muʿjams*, but also by comparing the entries within each *Muʿjam*. Al-Bakrī sometimes records a statement without references to its source, but refers to it, on another occasion, as having been derived from al-Sakūnī. Yāqūt, on the other hand, records parts of statements attributing them to al-

1. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Abū ʿAlī al-Hajarī*, pp. 332, 309, 341, 334.

2. See al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, pp. 291, 877, 1324-1333, 496, 868.

Sakūnī, but records the identical parts in other entries, without naming al-Sakūnī.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes al-Bakrī or Yāqūt attributes to al-Sakūnī information ascribed to other authors in other entries of the *Muʿjam*. This means that the information in question has reached al-Bakrī or Yāqūt from al-Sakūnī.

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1. Compare in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam*, vol. 1, p. 158 with vol. 4, p. 374 and vol. 5, pp. 805 with vol. 2, p. 464. vol. 4, p. 935.

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